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—HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT—
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Editorial Note

A New Cycle

That marvelous entity, the human body, goes through a process whereby it constantly renews its cells. Old, injured, or malfunctioning cells die off and new ones replace them. After a cycle lasting approximately seven years, the human body is completely renewed; all the cells are brand new, and the body starts a fresh cycle.

The Institute for Historical Review has just held its Seventh International Revisionist Conference and, like the human body, is about to embark on a new cycle. The trials and terrorism that plagued us in the past are behind us. We have been tried, but not been found wanting. The strength of the truth has sustained us and will continue to do so.

Through the generosity of our supporters, we now have a new, secure, and functionally efficient building from which we can conduct our business, part of which is bringing this journal to you. We also have an infusion of new blood, replacing and augmenting our staff, who with their energy and ideas will rejuvenate and invigorate the Institute and its work.

The IHR stands firm in its commitment to restore historical truth by bringing history into accord with the facts, and with innovation and unswerving dedication during this new cycle we shall make sure that the truth is heard.

Robert Karl Berkel
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Theodore J. O'Keefe
Assistant Director for Publications

The Siege of South Africa

IVOR BENSON

[Paper Presented to the Seventh International Revisionist Conference]

The main argument which I seek to establish in this paper falls into three parts and can be summarised as follows:

1. The history of South Africa, since shortly before the beginning of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899, epitomises the history of the world over the same period.
2. The world revolutionary movement which was to precipitate a century of conflict had its first clearly visible debut in South Africa, and
3. The Anglo-Boer War marked the beginning of the end of the British political imperium and the beginning of an entirely new kind of imperium, that of international finance-capitalism.

We must, therefore, expect to find in the history of South Africa all the distinguishing features of conflict in most other parts of the world in our time, including propaganda as a major weapon of aggression, and the infliction of barbarities on civilian populations.

The fact of the unity and coherence of the history of the world in our century is freely admitted today. Three American historians, F.P. Chambers, C.P. Harris, and C.G. Bayley, have this to say:

> Two world wars and their intervening wars, revolutions and crises are now generally recognised to be episodes in a single age of conflict which began in 1914 and has not yet run its course. It is an age that has brought to the world more change and tragedy than any other equal span in recorded history. *Yet, whatever may be its ultimate meaning and consequence, we can already think of it—and write of it—as a historic whole.*[1] (Emphasis added.)

The "ultimate meaning" of our age of conflict which these professional historians sought in vain is more easily read out of happenings in South Africa since the 1890s than out of happenings possibly anywhere else.

It is only to be expected, therefore, that we should find in South Africa powerful endorsement of the Orwellian dictum that forms the foundation stone of all Revisionist historical analysis: "Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past."[2]

Here is a sample of suppressed history which offers to throw a radically different light on the Boer War, the pivot of all Southern African history.

On December 18, 1898—that is, shortly before the outbreak of the Boer War—one Lieutenant-General Sir William Butler wrote as follows from Cape Town to the Secretary for the Colonies: "All the political questions in South Africa and nearly all the information sent from Cape Town are being worked by what I have already described as a colossal syndicate for the spread of false information."[3]

No one was in a better position to know the truth, for General Butler was then Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in South Africa and Acting High Commissioner during the absence in England of Sir Alfred Milner (later Lord Milner), one of the principal architects and instigators of the war that was soon to follow.

Immediately after Milner's return to Cape Town, General Butler resigned and returned to England; and successive historians have found it expedient to exclude from their writings any reference to his despatches.

General Butler, who had paid personal visits to the Boer Republic of the Transvaal, had seen for himself that the alleged "grievances" of the so-called "uitlanders," most of them British, who had flocked to the newly discovered goldfields, were a fraudulent invention.

It is signficant that there is no more than an occasional passing reference to General Butler in the official histories of that period—and to this day few students of history in South Africa would even recognise his name if they read it or heard it.

Here is another sample of the long-suppressed history of that period, a paragraph from a book written by one of the most respected writers of his day, J.A. Hobson, who had visited the Transvaal Republic before the outbreak of the Boer War:

> We are fighting in order to place a small international oligarchy of mine-owners and speculators in power in Pretoria. Englishmen will do well to recognise that the economic and political destinies of South Africa are, and seem likely to remain, in the hands of men, most of whom are foreigners by origin, whose trade is finance and whose trade interests are not British.[4]

It says much for Hobson's powers of perception that in another book, *The Psychology of Jingoism*, he was able to present an analysis of propaganda and disinformation which bears comparison with George Orwell's masterly study of this subject in his *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Another writer of that time who seems to have escaped the attention of historians was L. March Phillips, an officer in Rimington's Scouts, who had worked in the Transvaal for several years before the war. This is what he wrote:

> As for the uitlanders and their grievances, I would not ride a yard or fire a shot to right all the grievances that were ever invented. Most of the uitlanders (that is, miners and working men on the Rand) had no grievances. I know what I am talking about for I have lived and worked among them. I have seen English newspapers passed from one to another and laughter raised by the *Times* telegrams about those precious grievances . . . We used to read the London papers to find out what our grievances were, and very frequently they would be due to causes of which we had never heard. I never met one miner or working man who would have walked a mile to pick a vote off the road and I have known and talked with scores of hundreds.[5]

These were not the views of men habitually critical of the British Empire. General Butler had served the Empire loyally and with distinction in India, Egypt, Canada, West Africa and elsewhere. And Hobson was one of the many great Englishmen of his time who, like Edmund Burke before him, could happily identify themselves with the Empire's role in history.

What Butler, Hobson and other critics of the Milner policy saw in South Africa was something new and unprecedented: fraudulent misrepresentation on a colossal scale used by British leaders against their own people and their own parliament as a means of drawing them into a planned war.

Dishonourable conduct was being used for the first time as an instrument of imperial policy.

A revised history of South Africa which is now beginning to emerge exposes the enormity and impudence of the falsehood then used—and which is again being used in a renewed onslaught against the people of South Africa.

The biggest breakthrough for honest historical reporting came in 1979 with the publication of Thomas Pakenham's well-documented and richly illustrated book *The Boer War*, in which we read as follows about the causes of the war:

> First there is a thin golden thread running through the narrative, a thread woven by the 'gold bugs,' the Rand millionaires who controlled the richest gold mines in the world. It has been hitherto assumed by historians that none of the 'gold bugs' was directly concerned in making the war. But directly concerned they were . . . I have found evidence of an informal alliance between Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, and the firm of Wernher-Beit, the dominant Rand mining house. *It was this alliance, I believe, that gave Milner the strength to precipitate the war.*[6] (Emphasis added.)

Pakenham lays bare the real motives at work in precipitating the Boer War but does not fit the facts into a coherent interpretation of the history of South Africa that will absorb and explain some of its glaring paradoxes:

- How was it possible for methods to be used in precipitating the war which shocked many old and trusted servants of the British Empire?
- How was it possible in 1907, so soon after a long and bitter war, for General Louis Botha, then prime minister of the Transvaal colony, now British, to be so much in love with the Empire that he could make a present of the famous Cullinan diamond to King Edward VII?
- How was it possible for General Smuts, first prime minister of the Union of South Africa, to bring both the English South Africans and the Afrikaners into World War I on the side of the British?
- Even more paradoxically, how was it possible for an English-oriented South African Labour Party to help overthrow the pro-Empire Smuts government in 1924 and virtually reverse the verdict of the Boer War by putting an Afrikaner nationalist party in power?

These are questions we shall need to be able to answer if we are to understand the history of South Africa and the present rapidly mounting undeclared war against that country.

The situation in which the people of South Africa find themselves today is in many ways similar to the situation in which the Transvaalers found themselves in the years preceding the Boer War.

Then it was the alleged denial of political rights to the English-speaking "uitlanders" which served as ammunition for massive hate propaganda and pressure, and as *casus belli.* Today it is the grievances of the Blacks which are called on to supply the propaganda ammunition and justify internal revolutionary activity, most of it masterminded and financed from abroad.

In the 1890's, as also today, demands for so-called reforms were of a kind clearly aimed not at reform but at the complete displacement of the country's existing rulers.

One big difference is that in the 1890's the Transvaal's enemy was Britain, whereas today South Africa finds itself apparently in confrontation with the whole world; and another difference is that Afrikaners and English-speakers today find themselves equally endangered.

The maximum deployment of all the forces of parliamentary politics since the end of World War II having failed to dislodge Afrikaner nationalism from its position of power, what we now see is, in effect, *a renewal and resumption of the Boer War.*

Before we go on to seek a broad explanation of all this, it might be well to examine briefly the allegation that it is the unredressed grievances of the Blacks which lie at the root of all the present troubles and which call for intervention from abroad.

Substantially, the reasons given for the present world condemnation of South Africa are just as spurious as those given by Milner and his associates for hostility towards the Kruger government in the Transvaal.

It is true that there is much discontent among South Africa's Blacks, as there is discontent everywhere else in the world where Blacks find themselves in a human environment which is not of their own making. There is bitter discontent among Blacks in the United States, in Britain, and elsewhere in the West, exploding from time to time into violence and destruction.[7] Black discontent is something for which no remedy can be found even inside the British Labour Party, one of South Africa's most vehement critics, as Black members continue to defy their leaders and demand "apartheid" in the form of separate branches of their own.

There is Black discontent in South Africa it is true, but evidently even more of it across that country's borders—for how else has illegal Black immigration become one of South Africa's major problems?

It is also necessary at this point to expand a little on the subject of the "golden thread" which Pakenham found running through the story of the Boer War and its causes—that "international oligarchy of mine-owners and speculators" of which Hobson writes.

The funding which enabled Cecil Rhodes to consolidate his grip on the diamond mining industry was supplied by the British branch of the Rothschilds, but most of the Transvaal's financiers came from the continent.

The mining groups listed by Hobson include Wernher, Beit and Company, with 29 mines and three financial companies; but even this great group he found to be only the leading member of "a larger effective combination" which included, for all practical purposes, Consolidated Goldfields, S. Neumann and Co., G. Farrar, and Abe Bailey. Goldfields (virtually Beit, Rudd, and Rhodes) owned 19 mines. Hobson traces some of the lines of financial control to Rothschild and the German Dresdner Bank in which Wernher and Beit had substantial holdings.

In a chapter headed "For Whom Are We Fighting?," Hobson declares that even at the risk of seeming to appeal to "the ignominious passion of *Judenhetze*," he found it a duty "not to be shirked" to point out that "recent developments of Transvaal gold mining have thrown the economy of the country into the hands of a small group of international financiers, chiefly German in origin and Jewish in race."

In this scenario, as Hobson shows, Cecil Rhodes, the arch-imperialist and empire-builder and main instigator of the Boer War, figures as no more than a small planetary wheel in a vast international financial machine which he, no doubt, believed he had harnessed to his grandiose imperial purposes.

For General Butler, also, the duty of identifying what he called "the train-layers setting the political gunpowder" was not to be shirked. In a despatch to the War Office in June 1899 he wrote: "If the Jews were out of the question, it would be easy enough to come to an agreement, but they are apparently intent upon plunging the country into civil strife . . . indications are too evident here to allow one to doubt the existence of strong undercurrents, the movers of which are bent upon war at all costs for their own selfish ends."

For the people of Britain, the Boer War was a traumatic experience. A war that was expected to last only a few weeks dragged on for nearly three years and could only be brought to an end by an application of draconian measures which produced reactions of revulsion at home. The cost of the war also came as a shock: 350 million pounds—a great deal of money in those days—and 20,000 soldiers' lives.[8]

The trauma had something to do with the moral aspects of the struggle; it is one thing to fight against a dangerous enemy who threatens a nation's existence, quite another to suffer a succession of reverses with appalling losses of life in what is plainly a European fratricidal struggle for reasons which become increasingly dubious with the passage of time.

Paradoxically, too, a struggle which was to be labelled "the last gentlemen's war," in which there were continual displays of chivalry on both sides on the field of battle, was characterised also by reversions to barbarism, involving non-combatants.

Kitchener's scorched-earth policy, the only means by which Britain could be extricated from an intolerable situation, reduced the whole of the Transvaal and Orange Free State to a wilderness of devastated farms and uncultivated fields, and resulted in the death of more women and children in his concentration camps, mostly from typhoid, than there were men killed on both sides in the actual fighting.[9]

As was only to be expected, the intoxication of patriotism—Hobson called it "jingoism"—with which the war was launched and promoted was followed in Britain at the war's end by the moral equivalent of an acute hangover.

In the post-war general election, the Unionists—the "victorious" party—were defeated and a Liberal Party government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proceeded to treat the conquered Boers with the utmost kindness and consideration. The two Boer republics became British colonies but with wide powers of self-rule; and the stage was set for the introduction of a party political process—"war by other means"—which has continued to this day.[10]

The rest of the South African story is about the reasons why the new policy of conciliation was doomed to fail.

Or, to put it differently, the political history of South Africa for more than 50 years after the Boer War can be said to have revolved around two mutually antagonistic perceptions of the British Empire or British connection.

The British Empire had acquired a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde split personality, by some encountered as a model of respectability and virtue and by others as a monster of iniquity.

The Empire ideal, as verbalised with great power and eloquence by John Ruskin and Rudyard Kipling, had something in common with the socialist ideal by which it was due to be replaced later as an intellectual frame of reference and motivating system of ideas; for socialism, too, was destined to acquire a double character, loved by some and abominated by others.[11]

How is all this to be explained?

At a time in the history of the peoples of the West when a vacuum had been created in the minds of men by a new "enlightenment" which devalued the old religious orthodoxy, a secular Empire ideal (like socialism, a programme for world improvement) was found to serve quite well as a substitute for the abandoned religion; for it supplied a sense of purpose and direction and a coherent and self-explanatory intellectual frame of reference. That was the sunnier side of the "ideal," symbolised by Dr. Jekyll.

The dark side of the ideal was to be found in what some men were prepared to do in its name and for its furtherance.

The shock which ended General Butler's career in South Africa was experienced by him as the betrayal of an ideal which had hitherto served him unfailingly as a lodestar; the methods used by Rhodes and Milner and their circle were, from his point of view, decidedly not "British," and policies designed to precipitate a war with the Transvaal Republic were, for him, clearly not in the British interest.

It had been possible for several generations of Englishmen, products of the best schools and universities, to reconcile the conduct of imperial affairs with the preservation of standards of personal conduct which drew the clearest distinction between the "cad" and the "gentleman"—a state of affairs nowhere better illustrated than in Edmund Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings.

What Butler saw in Cape Town was the employment of dishonourable means for the attainment of the most dubious ends.

The appeal of the Empire ideal, or "English idea" as it came to be called, was by no means confined to the British; it had its votaries on the other side of the Atlantic, as Dr. Carroll Quigley has shown in his "history of the world in our century," *Tragedy and Hope*[12].

And Boer leaders, like General Louis Botha and General Smuts, when the fighting was over and a generous policy of conciliation was being applied by the victors, were not immune to the charms of an ideal which offered glowing possibilities for the future of mankind; moreover, it had much to show for itself wherever the Union Jack had been planted. Botha and Smuts were wholly won over; and Smuts figured from 1914 onwards more as an Imperial statesman than a South African party political leader.

That partly explains why Botha, on behalf of the Transvaal colony, was able to make a gift of the Cullinan diamond to King Edward VII and why, in 1914, he was able to crush a rebellion of Boer "bitter-enders" and bring South Africa into World War I on the side of Britain.

A split in South African politics came shortly after the formation of the first government of the Union of South Africa in 1910 with the resignation from Botha's cabinet of another former Boer leader, General J.B.M. Hertzog. Hertzog launched the National Party, and a pattern of party political strife was initiated that was to continue to this day.

Now let us examine more closely that negative perception of the British connection, or "English idea" as it came to be called in the United States, which formed the basis of Hertzog's political thinking, and that of a succession of other National Party leaders, including Dr. Daniel Malan, Mr. J.G. Strijdom and Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd.

It is significant that hatred of the ethnic "English" was never an important component of Hertzog's negative attitude towards the British connection, nor the main reason for a resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism. Hertzog's Christian names "James" and "Barry" provide some evidence of his parents' response to English influence in the Cape Colony, Barry being the name of the much loved English doctor who had attended at his birth.

The perceived enemy of the Afrikaner, from the very beginning, was not "die Engelse" but "die geldmag," or "money power," symbolised in Afrikaner folklore as "Hoggenheimer," the stereotype of the mining financier. It was also fear and hatred of financiers—Pakenham's "gold bugs"—which motivated the armed rebellion in 1914, triggered by Botha's decision to join Britain in declaring war on Germany.

On the positive side, what motivated Hertzog was the ideal of the unity of the two language groups in a shared patriotism under the slogan "South Africa First," a policy which took care not to disturb the cultural integrity and unity of either group—something like the patriotism that has prevailed in Switzerland and Belgium. This he called his "two stream policy." His attitude towards the "English" in South Africa was, therefore, always frank and honourable.

That helps to explain how it was possible in 1924 for an English-oriented South African Labour Party to join forces with Hertzog's National Party against a Smuts government which had so recently helped Britain to win the war against Germany.

The trouble began with the mine-workers on the Witwatersrand, whose accumulated grievances at the hands of the great mine-owners finally exploded in the Rand Rebellion of 1922. General Smuts, who had become prime minister after the death of General Botha in 1919, used troops, artillery, and even bombing by aircraft to crush this rebellion. Smuts had come down firmly on the side of the mine-owners, and the mine-workers were left worse off than ever.

Workers all over the country were infuriated and rallied to the support of the two opposition parties in parliament—the Afrikaners to the National Party and the English-speakers to the Labour Party. The two opposition parties then formed an alliance, and in the elections of 1924 the Smuts government was defeated.

But did this amount to an actual reversal of the verdict of the Boer War? Not quite. Constitutionally, South Africa remained a component of the British Empire, or Commonwealth of Nations, as it came to be called, under a governor-general appointed by the monarch; and South Africans were still British citizens carrying British passports.

What many would have found it hard to understand was the fact that this radical change in the course of South African history had been accomplished with the whole-hearted assistance of the English-speaking supporters of the Labour Party, a few of the older ones actual "uitlanders" of the former Republic for whose supposed "liberation" from Afrikaner domination the Boer War had been fought. Those English-speakers who helped the National Party to get into power also included many who only a few years before had been fighting for Britain on the battlefields of France and elsewhere.

The result of all this was a most unusual political phenomenon: a nationalist Afrikaner South Africa tacitly accepted by a substantial English-speaking population, while still held on a slender constitutional lead by the ruling powers in Britain.

The nationalist government proceeded at once to give effect to Hertzog's policy, replacing as quickly as possible some of the symbols of a subordinate association with Britain, including the flag, and drastically Afrikanerising the civil service, army and police—with little or no opposition from the Labour Party's "English" representatives in Hertzog's cabinet.

If we can get our central historical thesis right, we can expect the facts to continue to fall into place.

Policies aimed at making South Africa increasingly independent and self-directed always enjoyed the silent support of the English-speakers, who felt equally threatened by policies promoted in the name of opposition to Afrikaner nationalism.

In particular, there has been almost unanimous support down the years for policies designed to keep political power in White Afrikaner hands. In other words, unity of understanding and of purpose in race matters has been strong enough to prevail over all the inconvenience and irritation suffered by the English under an exclusively Afrikaner administration.

It is for this reason that those who continued to promote internal revolutionary activity against Afrikaner nationalism were able to draw very little assistance and support from the broad stream of the English-speakers; hence, too, only the Blacks were available in any number as revolutionary fodder.

The story of opposition politics in South Africa is told with surprising candour by Dr. Gideon Shimoni in his well-documented book *Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910-1967.*[13]

Shimoni writes of the period following World War II: "Jewish names kept appearing in every facet of the struggle; among reformist liberals; in the radical Communist opposition; in the courts, whether as defendants or as counsel for the defence; in the list of bannings and amongst those who fled the country to evade arrest. Their prominence was particularly marked in the course of the Treason Trial, which occupied an important place in the news media throughout the second half of the 1960s. This trial began in December 1966 when 156 persons were arrested on charges of treason in the form of a conspiracy to overthrow the state by violence and replace it with a state based on Communism. Twenty-three of those arrested were Whites, more than half of them Jews."[14]

After naming some of the Jews involved, Dr. Shimoni goes on: "To top it all, at one stage in the trial the defence counsel was led by Israel Maisels, while the prosecutor was none other than Oswald Pirow. The juxtaposition was striking: Maisels, the prominent Jewish communal leader, defending those accused of seeking to overthrow White supremacy."

Dr. Shimoni remarks that when the secret headquarters of the Communist underground was captured intact by the police at Rivonia, near Johannesburg, in 1964, five Whites were arrested, all of them Jews, and he names them: Arthur Goldreich, Lionel Bernstein, Hilliard Festenstein, Denis Goldberg, and Bob Hepple. The expensively equipped Communist command post was situated in a luxury house in extensive grounds, owned by another Jew, Vivian Ezra.

There is no need for an analysis of the relationship of the English-language mining press and the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement, for a statement by Abram Fischer, leader of the South African Communist Party underground, says it all: "A section of our press is doing a magnificent job." It was revealed at Fischer's trial in 1965 that these words, referring to this English-language press, formed part of a progress report which Fischer had prepared for his comrades.

So, now we know what it was that made the two perceptions of the Empire, or British connection, so different.

Botha and Smuts saw it in its original idealised form, as the philosopher John Ruskin may have seen it; Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd saw it as it actually was—an Empire that was undergoing a mysterious change of identity, an Empire that had come under the influence of forces and motives very different from those which had attended its creation, an Empire which had begun to embrace a radically different system of ethical values.

The story of Hertzog's career until his displacement by Smuts on the outbreak of World War II can be summarised as follows:

Hertzog took a lead at the conferences of Commonwealth prime ministers in London in securing radical constitutional changes, culminating in the Statute of Westminster in 1932 which, if it did not free the dominions entirely, gave them the right to decide whether to stay in the Commonwealth or get out.

Feeling that his main objective had been attained, Hertzog agreed to join Smuts in a "government of national unity" as a response to the challenge of the economic depression then prevailing. Most of the nationalists supported Hertzog in an electoral alliance with Smuts's South African Party, but many broke away when the two parties fused to form the United Party. These dissidents under the leadership of Dr. Malan then took over the "National Party" label.

Hertzog opposed South Africa's entry into World War II but was narrowly defeated when the issue was put to the vote in Parliament. Hertzog resigned and Smuts took over. However, in the first general election after the war's end, Dr. Malan and his National Party, revitalised by its role as wartime opposition, was swept back into power—again with slogans about "die geldmag," or money power.

From the vantage point of 1986, we can now see that the history of South Africa in this century has a meaning very different from that which was previously read into it. It never was a struggle between "Boer and Brit." For where now is that Empire which Ruskin, Rhodes, Milner and Smuts dreamed of as the foundation of a new world order? It has passed away, to be replaced by the grotesque caricature of a "New Commonwealth."

And what happened to that little country in Central Africa which was to have been an ever-lasting memorial to Cecil John Rhodes, one of the founders and architects of the Empire? The statue of Rhodes in imperishable bronze was cast down from its granite plinth in Jameson Avenue, Salisbury, and the whole country purged of all associations with the Empire-builders.

But it is not only in Rhodesia that this change of attitude has occurred; all establishment or consensus thinking—that is, thinking among those who rule in the world—has been purged of any associations with the British Empire as a ground plan for the future of mankind.

We can now see more clearly than was possible in 1898 that the alliance between Milner and the so-called "gold bugs" of the Witwatersrand, most of them of foreign origin, was the beginning of the end of British power in the world, and the beginning of a struggle which Professor P.T. Bauer has so aptly described as "an undeclared one-sided civil war in the West."[15] Concerning this struggle, Solzhenitsyn has written as follows:

> "We have to recognise that the concentration of World Evil and the tremendous force of hatred is there, and it's flowing from there throughout the world. And we have to stand up against it, and not hasten to give to it, give to it, give to it, everything that it wants to swallow."[16]

All the signs of what was happening in South Africa since before the beginning of the century can, therefore, be understood only in the context of what was happening, and continues to happen, all over the world. In the words of the three historians earlier quoted, our "age of conflict" must be considered as an "historic whole," presupposing the existence of "some ultimate meaning." Or, to put it differently again, the immediate and obvious causes of the major changes which constitute South African history find their full meaning only as part of the "ultimate meaning" of our age of conflict.

What precisely was the cause of the mysterious change of identity which preceded the British Empire's dissolution and its replacement with a socialist ideal and a new and unprecedented world imperium of high finance? The change which was to produce a worldwide chain-reaction of other change, starting with the British Empire, can be said to have begun in the realm of high finance shortly before the turn of the century.

Before then, high finance—not to be confused with private-ownership capitalism—existed in great national concentrations, each one largely geared to a national set of interests. There was a British finance-capitalism, then the most powerful in the world, a German finance-capitalism, an American finance-capitalism, and so on.

There had always existed also an international high finance operated by great banking families or dynasties, the most famous of these being the Rothschilds. These all formed part of the national concentrations of financial power but were able to operate with varying degrees of success *across* national frontiers.

The great change came, unannounced and unreported, when these international banking families were able, by joining hands, to bring all the national concentrations of financial power into coalescence, increasingly under their power.

High finance became fully internationalised. A new world imperium was established. A new kind of Caesar came to power in the world.[17]

The clearest documentary evidence in support of this interpretation of history will be found in Professor Carroll Quigley's monumental history of our century, *Tragedy and Hope*.

Some historical changes are unrecognisable when happening, yet noticeable after they have happened. The fact that powerful international banking families had long been established in Britain and even formed part of the nobility would have made it even more difficult at the time to penetrate the mystery.

It is now obvious that the assistance which financiers like Rothschild, Beit and Wernher so willingly gave to Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Milner had long-range purposes very different from the purposes of these two enthusiastic British race-patriots. What these financiers were, in fact, doing was to initiate a shift of the centre of gravity of world power away from the different nations of the West towards a new imperialism.

Rhodes and Milner, we may be sure, confidently believed that they were harnessing these financiers to the chariot of their political ambitions, but events have shown that these financiers, organised increasingly on a global basis, had political ambitions of their own.

And it was because the real power had begun to flow from this new centre that British public affairs began to exhibit signs of a different morale in which little value, if any, is attached to airy realities like those of personal honour and truthfulness. In other words, there was a moral transformation involved in a change which began to permit pure finance to prevail over national politics.

No one exemplified this moral transformation better than Cecil Rhodes himself with his well-known axiom, "every man has his price"—a corrupting influence which he did not hesitate to exercise within his own community for the attainment of ends he believed to be good.

This interpretation is strongly endorsed by everything that has happened in South Africa since the National Party was restored to power in 1948.

More obviously than ever after the fall of Rhodesia, English-speakers in South Africa have felt very deeply the need to depend on Afrikaner solidarity for their preservation against a similar disaster. Hence nothing could have been less British or English than the massively financed campaign of subversion and urban guerilla warfare which has been so conspicuous a feature of the post-World War II years in South Africa.[18]

So, it is now the question of South Africa's fitness to survive which must engage our attention. Are the Afrikaners as solidly united today as in 1948 and thereafter under Dr. Malan, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd?

There can be only one answer to that question: *No*! At a time when solidarity is most needed, Afrikanerdom is sharply divided. The government has moved to the left and is being opposed with great vehemence by a revived nationalism led by Dr. Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Mr. J.A. Marais's Herstigte Nasionale Party.

What happened to bring about this major disturbance of Afrikaner solidarity can be explained quite simply. After 1938 there came rapidly into existence an Afrikaner moneyed elite whose declared purpose it was to secure for the Afrikaners a larger stake in the nation's economy. This new moneyed elite with its own investment houses, banks, building societies, etc., prospered enormously by exploiting a highly inflated nationalist sentiment; so much so that by 1965 these wealthy Afrikaners felt strong enough to break into the magic circle of mining high-finance. In fact, an opening had been made for them—a trap into which they fell most readily in spite of warnings by Dr. Verwoerd and others. An important part of Afrikanerdom entered into an alliance with the traditional enemy, "die geldmag" or money power, and could no longer fight it because inseparably joined to it with veins and arteries of shared interest—including, of course, a shared attachment to the principle of credit financing by which they were doomed sooner or later to be yoked.[19]

The existence of this partnership in high finance will help to explain why South Africa's present strategy has been based almost exclusively on principles of appeasement and accommodation.

What then are the prospects for South Africa?

The South Africans are in much the same situation as the Trojans at the siege of Troy; the Trojans could not have defeated the Greeks in battle—but they could have won if they had not allowed themselves to be tricked into defeat. Like the Greeks who surrounded Troy, those now waging an undeclared war against South Africa, maintaining as it were a state of siege, are falling increasingly into disorder and disarray. The new world order which they are trying to build can now be seen as a Tower of Babel which is bound to collapse about their ears sooner or later. They are having to pay an enormous price for being out of register with reality.

Thus, whether South Africa survives or not may depend on two questions which the future will answer:

1. Will the South Africans be able to resist the temptation of a "settlement" of the kind that beat the Rhodesians?
2. Will enough of the history of this century be known to enough people in the West to collapse that "Tower of Babel" while the South Africans are still holding out?

Meanwhile, is there nothing South Africa's rulers could do to hasten the collapse of that "Tower of Babel"? Is there no alternative to a strategy of endless conciliation, negotiation, and accommodation? Many of South Africa's friends, especially in the United States of America, have answered "Yes!" to such questions but their suggestions have been ignored—just as the suggestions of Rhodesia's friends around the world were ignored.

The Republic of South Africa, armed with full knowledge of the forces and motives involved in the present struggle, and the skill with which to make the best use of that knowledge, could be a far more formidable opponent than the little Boer Republic at the turn of the century.

One of the major factors in South Africa's present position of strength is the vulnerability of all the political regimes in the West, which have joined hands with the Soviet Union in the present undeclared war aimed at grabbing political control of an area of immense strategical importance and one of the world's greatest repositories of mineral wealth. Their vulnerability exists mainly in the realm of public opinion—as demonstrated in 1965 when the peoples of the West responded instantly and spontaneously to Rhodesia's declaration of independence by setting up innumerable "Friends of Rhodesia" organisations; this public response caused great embarrassment to those Western governments which had joined the Soviet Union and Red China in promoting revolutionary change in Central Africa, and would have expanded enormously had it not been discouraged by an Ian Smith government bent on achieving what it was pleased to call a "settlement."

There can be no doubt that a resolute stand by South Africa, supported with skilful deployment of the country's considerable resources, could deliver a staggering blow at that conspiratorial "network" so accurately described by Professor Carroll Quigley in his book *Tragedy and Hope.*

Millions of concerned people in the countries of the West are just waiting for some nation to raise the counter-revolutionary standard with a cry that will ring around the world: *So far and no further*!

South Africa with its vast resources in strategic and other minerals, its manufacturing potential, its ability to feed its own people, and a military power, both conventional and nuclear, without equal in Africa, is one of the few developed countries capable of severing links of dependence on the rest of the world and of adopting a bold and heroic attitude—for the benefit of the whole of the West.

South Africans should be further strengthened in a resolution to resist by the knowledge that a willingness to negotiate will win them *no* remission of the penalties of defeat—as the Rhodesians earlier learned to their sorrow.

This, then, is the message I bring from South Africa: The peoples of the West have allowed themselves to be drawn into yet another of this century's fratricidal struggles. That is the meaning of what those history professors call "this century of conflict."

NOTES

1. F.P. Chambers et al., *This Age of Conflict* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1943).
2. George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1949).
3. Lt. General Sir William Butler, *An Autobiography* (Constable, 1911).
4. J.A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa* (James Nisbet, 1900).
5. L. March Phillips, *With Rimington in South Africa.*
6. Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, 1979.
7. See *Behind the News*, October 1985, "Britons Shaken as Riots Spread."
8. H. Rider Haggard records that Sir Abe Bailey, one of Rhodes's closest associates, when reminded of the cost of the war to Britain in lives and money, replied: "What matter? Lives are cheap"; in the *Cloak That I Left*, a biography, by Lilias Rider Haggard (Hodder and Stoughton).
9. See Arthur Davey, *The British Pro-Boers 1877-1902* (Tafelberg); *S.B.* Spies, *Methods of Barbarism?* (Human and Roussouw); Douglas Reed, *Somewhere South of Suez* (Jonathan Cape and Devin-Adair); and books by Deneys Reitz, and by the Boer War hero General Christian de Wet.
10. See Chapter 1, "This Worldwide Conspiracy," in *The Battle for South Africa*, Ivor Benson (Dolphin Press).
11. The difference between British imperialism until the turn of the 19th century, and socialism since the end of World War I, is not simply a difference of political theory; it was the voices of the blood which supplied the original ideas of Ruskin, Rhodes, and Milner with a powerful energising principle. But as it turned out, race-patriots like Rhodes and Milner were not sufficiently armed with insight, intelligence, and money to win the ensuing struggle. See also *The Battle for South Africa*, op. cit.

12. Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966).
13. Dr. Shimoni's account of opposition politics in South Africa may be compared with that of Dr. B.A. Kosmin for Rhodesia, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Zimbabwe), equally candid; Shimoni's book is published by Oxford University Press.
14. Detailed information about the South African treason trials is given in *Traitor's End* by Nathaniel Weyl (Tafelberg).
15. P.T. Bauer, *Equality, the Third World and the Economic Delusion* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson).
16. From Solzhenitsyn's address to the leadership of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C., 30 June 1975.
17. This thesis of the revolution in the realm of high finance was first published in the present writer's pamphlet, *The Middle East Riddle Unwrapped* (1984), and has been further developed in his book *The Zionist Factor* (Veritas).
18. See the present writer's pamphlet *Behind Communism in Africa* (Dolphin Press, 1975).
19. See *Behind the News*, January 1979, "The Broederbond Boss Speaks"; February 1983, "Mr. Heunis Unveils Government Thinking": July 1985, "South Africa: Politics of Confusion."

Further Reference: In addition to works cited in this paper, detailed chronological sequences of political affairs in South Africa since the Anglo-Boer War will be found in *A History of Southern Africa* by Eric A. Walker (Longmans Green), and *500 Years: A History of South Africa*, edited by Professor C.F.J. Muller (Academia, Pretoria).

Response to a Paper Historian

ROBERT FAURISSON

Introduction

Pierre Vidal-Naquet is professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (School of Higher Studies in the Social Sciences) in Paris and has been a very determined adversary of mine. He has attacked me in the academic and journalistic worlds and even in the courts. Along with Léon Poliakov, he is the author of a declaration, published in Le Monde *on February 21, 1979, p. 23, which was signed by 34 historians:*

> *It is not necessary to ask how,* technically, *such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically since it took place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: There is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.*

Pierre Vidal-Naquet is also the author of a long article entitled "Un Eichmann de papier" ("A Paper Eichmann") which was directed against me. I responded to that article with my own "Réponse à un historien de papier" ("Response to a Paper Historian"). The article by Vidal-Naquet first appeared in the review Esprit *(No. 45, September, 1980, pp. 8-52), and later in a new form, with additions, in a book entitled* Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent *(Maspero, 1980, pp. 195-282).*

My response first appeared in a short book entitled Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet *(La Vieille Taupe Publishers, 1982) and later in a second, expanded edition, in December 1982. It appears here for the first time in English.*

*An abridgement of the Vidal-Naquet article has been published in English (*Democracy*, April 1981, pp. 67-95) but I have not checked to see whether that translation is faithful to the original. Vidal-Naquet is very hard-hitting and even insulting, but his article is interesting and even unique: For the first and last time an Exterminationist has tried to answer the arguments of a Revisionist. When the Revisionist replied to the Exterminationist, the latter abandoned the discussion and retreated into silence. Vidal-Naquet no longer talks about gas chambers.*

In France there have been two other attempts to answer the Revisionists' arguments, but they were so weak that they fell of their own weight. The first was by Nadine Fresco ("Les Redresseurs de morts" [The Revisers of the Dead], Les Temps Modernes, *No. 407, June 1980, pp. 2150-2211) and the second by Georges Wellers (*Les Chambres à gaz ont existé *[The Gas Chambers Existed], Paris, Gallimard, 1981).*

*After being burned in the French venture, the Exterminationists have preferred not to cross swords with the Revisionists. Two recent examples illustrate this: First, the collective undertaking directed by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, and Adalbert Rückerl (*NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas*[NS Mass Killings with Poison Gas], Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1983); then, Raul Hilberg's* The Destruction of the European Jews, *revised and definitive edition (New York/London: Holmes and Meier, 1985). In neither book are the names of the Revisionists mentioned, or their publications or arguments. For a book to be considered scholarly, however, it must treat both sides of the issue at hand; present the arguments of the opposing side; furnish bibliographical information that would let the reader consult the original sources,* all *the sources; and finally, it must answer the opposing party if it can.*

One of the most notable differences between the Exterminationists and the Revisionists is that while Revisionists spend most of their time mentioning and examining the arguments of the other side, Exterminationists maintain a policy of ostracism against their opponents.

Let us imagine for a moment a layman who would like to know who is right—those who claim that there was a genocide carried out against the Jews by using homicidal gas chambers, or those who claim that this is an historical lie. Such a layman would like to attend a debate between representatives of those two theses, but he cannot. The Exterminationists refuse all proposals for debate that the Revisionists offer them. In place of attending such a debate, this layman might want to read publications in which each side tries to answer the arguments of the other. But he cannot do that either, because while the Revisionists do *discuss the opposing arguments, the Exterminationists either turn a deaf ear or reply with insults.*

There is only one way to satisfy to some extent our layman's desires; that is to have him first read Vidal-Naquet's "A Paper Eichmann" and then my own "Response to a Paper Historian." Failing that, *"Response to a Paper Historian" offers an introduction to a debate between an Exterminationist and a Revisionist that is unprecedented, both in its scope and its detail.*

The historian cannot avoid spending a good part of his life in paper. He goes through documents; he collects them; he compares archives and written documents of all kinds. But at the same time the historian must not neglect the material aspect of the facts; therefore he must also transform himself at times into an on-site inspector: an archeologist, a physicist, a chemist, an explorer. Visiting a place, he looks at it, searches through it, measures it, photographs it; he touches it with his fingers. He transforms himself sometimes into a police investigator. He carries out physical reconstructions or, when that is impossible, he carefully reconstructs things in his mind. He needs to have his feet on the ground. It is very good for him to inform himself, from the documents, about democracy in Rome; but it is wise to go to the spot in Rome to see what a small area was occupied by the Forum, the focal point of that democracy. His illusions take flight; so much the worse! Reality replaces them; so much the better!

When he deals with the Ancient World, which is his speciality, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, I suppose, is not content with documents only, but also investigates sites. On the other hand, when that historian calls himself an historian of the "gas chambers," he goes around and around in documents and abstractions. Settled comfortably far above us in a half-philosophical, half-religious empyrean, he writes about other writings and does not even take the effort to reflect on what he writes.

That is why I call him a Paper Historian.

Beginning with the first paper he wrote on the question of the "gas chambers," we discover two striking examples of that dangerous mind-set. We recall that *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979 (p. 23) had published a text entitled "The Nazi Policy of Extermination: A Declaration by Historians." That text was written by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov and signed by thirty-four historians without any competence on that subject.

To begin with, the *Le Monde* text reproduced an extract from the "confession" of SS-man Kurt Gerstein. The extract was intended to persuade us that it contained an "indisputable" and "striking" testimony about the Nazi "gas chambers." In halting French, Gerstein had, we are told, written: "The naked men [in the gas chambers] are standing up at [*sic*] the feet of the others. Seven hundred to eight hundred in 25 square meters, in 45 cubic meters; the doors are closed." Any reader alert to reality would conclude: 28 to 32 men standing on one square meter—that is physically impossible; the admissibility of that strange testimony is at least questionable. But settled in their common philosophical-religious empyrean, our thirty-four scatter-brains did not see what leaped to the eye of the layman.

Here again is the triumphant (and also silly and empty) conclusion of our paper historians' manifesto:

> It is not necessary to ask how, *technically,* such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically since it took place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

Tautology? A double redundancy? Pure silliness? How to describe such a pearl of wisdom? Remember well the last phrase: "There is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers."

In good logic, Vidal-Naquet would not have had, nineteen months later, to publish in *Esprit* a long article on the subject; an article that he expected me to honor with a response (*Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent* [The Jews, Memory, and the Present], Paris: Maspero, 1980, p. 280). Here is the explanation: The text in *Le Monde* had been conceived to ward off a very pressing problem. In the confusion that was provoked by my article on "The Rumor of Auschwitz," Vidal-Naquet and Poliakov hastily drew up a manifesto, and then took it to some signers, saying to them: "We say there cannot be any debate, but it is very clear that you must not pay attention to that phrase and that you all have to get busy replying to Faurisson." That is how Vidal-Naquet ingenuously puts it on page 196 of (*Les Juifs* . . .) when he writes:

> A good number of historians signed the declaration published in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979, but very few got busy; one of the rare exceptions being F. Delpech.

As to the argumentation which was hidden behind this silliness, I leave to others the job of answering. I will let Claude Guillon and Yves le Bonniec speak (*Suicide, mode d'emploi* [Instruction Manual for Suicide], Alain Moreau, 1982):

> We are quite prepared for our part to consider any method of elimination, including gas chambers. It is possible that the technical arguments of Faurisson will be shown to be without value. Having said that, it is *inevitable* to ask oneself how *technically* the gas chambers function, that is to say simply *whether they existed or did not exist.* Such is the obligatory course of every historical inquiry. If by chance no one can be found to show *how* a single gas chamber was able to *function,* from that we would deduce that no one could have been asphyxiated (p. 205).

That remark of the two authors is preceded by the following:

> After Rassinier (whose estimation of the gas chambers is more reserved), Faurisson is interesting for having, at the same time that he claims to denounce a forty-year-old lie, revealed *numerous lies,* and having aroused among his opponents one of the most formidable pro-

> ductions of new lies of the decade. The official historians themselves recognize that today people still visit a gas chamber, where there never was one, which ought not, according to them, to diminish at all the influence of other "historical" truths. (op. cit., pp. 204-205)

Claude Guillon and Yves le Bonniec use here a key argument of the Revisionists against the Exterminationist thesis. Vidal-Naquet does not breathe a word of that in his innumerable writings and interventions in court.

I want to speak of what I call the "drastic revision" of 19 August 1960. On that day, the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit,* which subscribes to the victors' "Holocaust" story, published a letter, a simple letter from Dr. Martin Broszat of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. In that letter, which was simply entitled, "No Gassing at Dachau," he conceded to us, or rather, he finally conceded to historical truth, that there had never been any homicidal gassing in the Old Reich (Germany within its 1937 frontiers). Since 1960, that is to say for 22 years, we have awaited the rigorously documented study which would let us see why it had been suddenly necessary to stop believing in the "gassings" at Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, and Neuengamme, while at the same time continuing to believe in the "gassings" in the camps located in communist Poland. Do we not have at our disposal for all the camps an indiscriminate mass of "proofs," of "testimonies," of "confessions"? Have they not executed or driven to suicide the officials of camps where, finally, it is revealed, as if by the working of the Holy Spirit, that there had never been a homicidal "gas chamber"? But no more of this candor: If Dr. Broszat, since 1972 the director of his institute, has never dwelt on those questions, it is because he knows perfectly well that in showing the inanity of the "proofs," the "testimonies," and the "confessions" relating to the camps located in the Old Reich, he would demolish simultaneously the "proofs," the "testimonies," the "confessions" relative to the camps in communist Poland. That is so because for an honest observer all those "proofs," all those "testimonies," and all those "confessions" are worth nothing. They are really of interest only to sociologists specializing in the study of mechanisms of belief.

I now come to the article by Vidal-Naquet. I am going to follow it step by step at the risk of appearing disjointed or of repeating myself, because his entire article is confused.

1. From page 195 to page 208, Vidal-Naquet piles up generalities and digressions which do not seem to me to have great relevance to the subject.
Response: No response.

2. From page 208 to page 210, Vidal-Naquet talks about the *Secret Speeches* of Himmler (*Heinrich Himmler: Geheimreden 1933-1945 und andere Ansprachen* [Heinrich Himmler: Secret Speeches

1933-1945 and Other Talks], ed. Bradley F. Smith and Agnes F. Peterson, Berlin: Propyläen, 1974), about the statistician R. Korherr, and about the word *Sonderbehandlung* (special treatment). He insinuates, but without great conviction, that a passage from those speeches shows a will to carry out "genocide" against the Jews, and that *Sonderbehandlung* is a code word for extermination.

Response: I would first like to make a remark about the seductive title, *Secret Speeches.* Those speeches were not at all secret! In this regard, I note a marked tendency among the Exterminationists to fool the ordinary reader with tendentious titles. So it was that Serge Klarsfeld's *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France* is only a list of the Jews who embarked on the trains for deportation. There is no question here of a list of the dead, as they would often have us believe, especially when they go to deposit these lists at a funeral monument near Jerusalem. Georges Wellers himself, in his hatred for Vichy, goes so far as to entitle one of his books *L'Etoile jaune à l'heure de Vichy* (The Yellow Star in the Vichy Era) although the Vichy government always successfully opposed the wearing of the yellow star in its zone. Vidal-Naquet, himself, does not know what tone is proper to take about Himmler's remarks. He speaks of his "direct or nearly totally direct language." Here he believes he sees him "at maximum frankness," even though he adds that "a description of the real process would be a thousand times more traumatic." There's the rub—Vidal-Naquet proclaims that he has found in Himmler what the Exterminationist historians have sought in vain since 1945: either an order or a simple instruction verifying a decision to exterminate the Jews. But at the very moment that he presents to us the result of his search, he looks sulkily at what he has found: The language of Himmler is "direct or nearly totally direct," there is no "description of the real process." (Dare we ask if that "description of the real process" happens to exist only in Vidal-Naquet's head?) But that's not all. Vidal-Naquet adds another puzzle to the puzzle. He is astonished at a "toning down" by Himmler; that devil Himmler was facing a "well-informed" audience! Why, then, this "indirect or nearly totally indirect" language? Then, suddenly, enveloping himself in an analysis more and more abstract and autistic, Vidal-Naquet believes he has discovered that Himmler "codes," and even "supercodes," what he had in his mind. Vidal-Naquet deciphers this alleged "code" with supreme speed and ease; he decodes on first reading, off the top of his head. He decrees, without the least proof, that *Sonderbehandlung* is a codeword and, in our presence, he decodes it instantaneously: That word means "extermination." But things get really complicated when our analyst, seized by a sudden scruple, adds as a footnote a remark very likely to mislead a reader who no longer knows whether Himmler is "direct or nearly totally direct"; whether he "is at maximum frankness" or is being secretive; whether he "codes" or whether he "supercodes": "Of course *Sonderbehandling* could also have a perfectly benign meaning."

The reality was the following: *Sonderbehandlung* could have a whole series of meanings, from the most serious to the most benign. The context should instruct the reader. The primary meaning seems to be medical, and one will find, for example: "*Sonderbehandlung: Quarantänelager* (quarantine camp)." On the other hand, in document PS-502, the same word means explicitly "executions." *Sonderbehandlung* was also applied to the favored treatment enjoyed in captivity by high officials. See what defendant Kaltenbrunner says about it at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (French edition, Volume XI, pp. 347-348):

> In those two deluxe hotels [for special treatment] were lodged some of the best people such as M. Poncet, M. Herriot, etc. They received rations triple those normal for a diplomat; that is to say, nine times the wartime rations of a German. Every day each received a bottle of champagne; they corresponded freely with their families, they could receive parcels from their families left behind in France. These internees received frequent visits, and we would inquire about all their desires. That is what we called "*special treatment*."

Arrivals and departures were noted in the reports of the daily population of each camp. Among the departures might be noted the dead, the "S.B." (*Sonderbehandlung*), the freed (people forget that many of the concentration-camp inmates could leave Auschwitz after completing a sentence of several months), and those transferred. They would have us believe that the "S.B." were those condemned to "gassing." There were, however, "S.B." in the camps that had no gas chambers, even according to the Exterminationists. These "S.B." must have been, in all probability, internees assigned to other camps for some reason (Bergen-Belsen for health; Bergen-Belsen for categories of Jews to be exchanged with the Allies; Ravensbrück for women; Dachau for priests; Theresienstadt for old people, etc.). The "transferred" category, properly speaking, was made up of people assigned to a particular job either in the camp, or in a distant camp.

We find, in the travel authorizations, telegrams from the WVHA (the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office) allowing trucks to pick up material either for *Sonderbehandlung* or for *Desinfektion* (disinfection); these two words being used interchangeably. It was a matter, more precisely, of going to Dessau to obtain quantities of Zyklon B in order to disinfect the Auschwitz camp, where typhus was prevalent (radio message of 22 July 1942 addressed to the Auschwitz camp under signature of General Gluecks [Raul Hilberg, *Documents of Destruction,* Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971, p. 220]). In one and the same book (*Sachso*, by the Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen Society, Minuit-Plon, 1982) the expression "special treatment" is applied on page 99 to the act of marking in blue pencil on the left breast of a bearer of lice, and on page 327 it is applied to an execution.

When we seek an expression which can take account of all these meanings at the same time, we ask ourselves what would be most suitable for *Sonderbehandlung*: would it not be *to isolate*? One finds that meaning in *gesonderte Unterbringung* (isolated stay), an expression often applied to arrivals.

The fact remains that although *Sonderbehandlung* could occasionally mean *to execute,* we know very well that Himmler, after receiving the work of his statistician Korherr, told the latter that in a certain passage of his report he ought to replace the word *Sonderbehandlung* with *Transportierung* (transport).

Long after the war, Korherr protested against the interpretation of *Sonderbehandlung* as meaning massacre. In *Der Spiegel* of 25 July 1977, cited by Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich on page 391 of *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (The Auschwitz Myth) (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1979), he wrote:

> The statement according to which I supposedly was able to establish that more than a million Jews could have died in the camps of the General Government in Poland and of the territories of the Wartheland from the results of a special treatment (*Sonderbehandlung*) is absolutely incorrect. It is necessary for me to protest against the use of the verb *to die* in this context.

Korherr goes on to say that *Sonderbehandlung* was supposed to mean *Ansiedlung* (displacement).

The context is really the last concern of someone like Vidal-Naquet. I willingly concede to him that on page 169 of the German edition (*Geheimreden . . .*), Himmler says this to his audience (6 October 1943):

> We came up against the question: What about the women and children? In this case as well I decided on a very clear solution. That is, I did not feel justified in exterminating the men—in other words, to kill or allow to be killed—while allowing the children to grow up into avengers against our sons and grandsons. The difficult decision had to be made to let this people disappear from the earth. (op. cit., p. 169)

If we end the quotation here, as Vidal-Naquet does, Himmler assumes the proportions of a General Turreau intent on killing men, women, and children and making of the Vendée (during the French Revolution) a great cemetery. However, the continuation is curious and makes clear that Himmler has indulged in a bit of braggadocio. He goes on to say that in his conduct of the anti-partisan struggle he was able to spare the German officers and soldiers a double danger:

> That of becoming too hardened, of becoming heartless and of no longer respecting human life, or of becoming too weak and of losing one's head to the point of having a nervous breakdown—the path between Scylla and Charybdis is terribly narrow. (p. 170)

But how then, one may ask, did Himmler's men in fact proceed? The answer is found in many pages of his so-called *Secret Speeches*, and in particular on pages 201 and 203.

Two months after the speech mentioned above, Himmler returned to the subject (16 December 1943). Again, it is the partisan war that he is talking about, a war carried out as savagely on one side as on the other. He says:

> Wherever I was forced to take action in a village against partisans and against Jewish commissars—I'm saying this to this circle, as meant exclusively for this circle—as a basic rule I also gave the order to have the women and children of these partisans and commissars killed as well. I would be a weakling and a criminal against our descendants if I were to allow the hate-filled sons of the subhumans wiped out by us in the struggle between humans and subhumans to grow up. Believe me: It's not easy to give such an order, and not as simple to carry out as it is to think through correctly its consequences and put them into words in a meeting hall. But we must always recognize just how naturally basic and primitive is the racial struggle in which we find ourselves. (p. 201)

More interesting yet is the speech Himmler gave five months later to a number of generals at Sonthofen (24 May 1944). Here we find less than ever the "genocide" we might fear. Himmler declared:

> Regarding the Jewish women and children, I did not consider myself justified in allowing the children to grow up into avengers who would then kill our fathers and our grandchildren. I would have regarded that as cowardly. Therefore, the issue was dealt with uncompromisingly. Nevertheless, right now—and this is unique in this war—we are first bringing 100,000 male Jews from Hungary, and later another 100,000, with whom we are building underground factories, into concentration camps. None of them, though, will come into any contact at all with the German people. (p. 203)

The Germans were haunted by the possibility that uprisings like that of the Warsaw ghetto would recur behind their lines. Concerning the fear of seeing happen at Budapest what had taken place in Warsaw, we can read *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (I, Adolf Eichmann), published by Dr. Rudolf Aschenhauer (Druffel Verlag, 1980), page 33.

3. On page 211, Vidal-Naquet, reciting the history of the "extermination," talks about "the halt to the extermination of the Jews on Himmler's order at the end of October 1944."

Response: That order never existed and I challenge Vidal-Naquet to produce it for us. Just as there existed no order by Hitler or by Himmler or by anyone to *start* the extermination of the Jews, so also was there no order by anyone to *stop* an extermination which had not occurred.

4. In a footnote on page 212, Vidal-Naquet asserts, "I see no reason to doubt the existence of the gas chambers at Ravensbrück, Struthof, and Mauthausen."

Response: With regard to Ravensbrück, Vidal-Naquet refers us to the book by Germaine Tillion (*Ravensbrück*, Paris: Le Seuil, 1973), which contains a plan of the camp. The location of the alleged "gas chambers" is not even noted! Nowhere else is there either the slightest plan or the slightest physical trace. This is a strictly metaphysical "gas chamber."

Regarding Struthof, I was the first to publicize the condition of the premises, guaranteed to be "in original condition." I proved that the "gasser" would have been the first to gas himself with his mysterious gas (see the *two* contradictory confessions by Josef Kramer about the "gassings" at Struthof camp in Alsace.) Vidal-Naquet does not resolve the technical puzzle; besides, nothing that is technical interests him.

With regard to Mauthausen, things are even simpler. The handles that open and close the pipes bringing the alleged gas into the shower are within reach of the victims! That is what is clearly evident from a normal photo. The photo exhibited at the recent display about the deportation which was held on the Esplanade of the Trocadéro in Paris (April-May of 1982) showed it not quite as well. The handles were cropped out.

5. On page 212, in footnote 23, Vidal-Naquet confesses that there exists on the subject of the concentration camps "a sub-literature which represents a really vile kind of appeal to consumerism and sadism." He adds: "All that is dependent on hallucination and propaganda must be eliminated." On these bases he denounces Christian Bernadac, Silvain Reiner, Jean-Francois Steiner, and V. Grossman. He admits having fallen "into the trap set by Steiner's *Treblinka* (Fayard, 1966)."

Response: Very well, but that hardly moves us forward. What would be instructive for the reader would be to know why Vidal-Naquet fell into such a trap and how he got out of it. He insults Bernadac without our knowing exactly why, and he touts Nyiszli, leaving us none the wiser as to his motives. He proceeds by ukases. He decrees that one narrative is credible and that another one is not. He devotes himself to none of the analyses that the Revisionists carry out. When a Rassinier asserts to us that the best-seller, *Doctor at Auschwitz,* by Nyiszli, is only a "rascally trick," it is after a long analysis and an inquiry of the most serious kind. Rassinier arms us for future reading, leaving it to our judgment as mature adults to distinguish between truth and falsehood. Vidal-Naquet disarms us. In his presence we are like children who, each time a new work appears, await the judgment which will fall from the mouth of their father—a father at the same time peremptory and fallible. What does he think of Martin Gray who, to write *Au nom de tous les miens* (published in English as *For Those I Loved*), took as his ghost-writer a purveyor of moral lessons named Max Gallo who helped Gray, in cooperation with the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, to fabricate his deportation to Treblinka? Does he sense an odor of authenticity in the rubbish piled up by Filip Müller in *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz, à*

Auschwitz (Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz) (Pygmalion/Gerald Watalet, 1980), a book launched with a great fuss by Claude Lanzmann [director of the documentary *Shoah,* 1985) and by *Le Nouvel Observateur,* a book which drew tears from the actor François Perrier who came to talk about it on television?

What does he think about Constantin Simonov on *Maidanek* (Editions sociales, 1946)? How does he judge a hundred other works, either histories or first-person accounts, where we find over and over again the same cliches, the same inventions, the same foul smells, the same physical impossibilities as in the works that he denounces as false? What does he think of Fania Fénelon as she expresses herself on what she experienced at Auschwitz (which is not without interest) and as she tries to make us believe in the existence of the gas chambers (which she did not see)? What does he think of the quite recent *Sachso*, in which the Association of Former Inmates of Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen had the effrontery to tell us that the camp had a homicidal "gas chamber," when for nearly a quarter of a century it has been accepted by authorities in Exterminationist history that the place never had any such installation? What does he think, in that regard, of the way in which faith is transformed into "science"?

6. On pages 212-213, Vidal-Naquet concedes to us that the theologian Charles Hauter, who was deported to Buchenwald, "never saw a gas chamber" and "is deranged on that subject." He quotes him:

> The machinery for extermination literally abounded. To be accomplished quickly, extermination demanded a special kind of industrialization. The gas chambers answered that need in quite different ways. Some of them, of a refined style, were supported by pillars of a porous material, inside of which the gas formed, then passed through the walls. Others were of a simpler structure, but all were sumptuous in appearance. It was easy to see that the architects had conceived them with pleasure, planning them for a long time, drawing on all of their esthetic resources. They were the only parts of the camp constructed with love.

Response: I do not see why Vidal-Naquet takes exception to that testimony. It is neither worse nor better than everything else to be read under the rubric of "gas chambers" at Buchenwald, Auschwitz or elsewhere. By what right does Vidal-Naquet assert that the theologian never saw any gas chambers, and that he "is deranged on that subject"? The answer is simple and disarming, like reasoning in the Vidal-Naquet style, and must be formulated as follows: "The theologian did not see gas chambers at Buchenwald because it offends the official truth on the question, the official truth admitted by tacit and secret consent among the establishment historians, according to whom, definitively, Buchenwald had no gas chamber." In other words, to remain faithful to the tautological, redundant, and autistic reasonings of a Vidal-Naquet, here is what one would have to say to

Charles Hauter: "It is not necessary to ask oneself how, *technically*, such a mass murder was possible at Buchenwald. It was impossible technically since it did not take place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: There is not, there cannot be, any debate about the non-existence of the gas chambers at Buchenwald."

7. On page 213, Vidal-Naquet concedes, "The number of six million Jews killed, which comes from Nuremberg, has nothing sacred or definitive about it, and many historians arrive at a slightly lower number." "So it is," he adds in a footnote, "that R. Hilberg arrives at a total of 5,100,000 victims."

Response: This remark of Vidal-Naquet jibes with what Dr. Broszat finally declared before a court in Frankfurt: "The six million is a symbolic number." I am surprised that Vidal-Naquet does not quote a more convincing argument in support of his thesis than the total proposed by Raul Hilberg. Gerald Reitlinger himself, on page 546 of his *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1971), presents a "Summary of Extermination Estimates (Revised 1966)." His table gives us a choice between a minimum of 4,204,000 and a maximum of 4,575,000 Jewish dead. Still, he takes great care to add that it this a matter of totals based on conjectures. Vidal-Naquet ought to inform us that all such totals are based on pure conjectures. After 37 years, with the electronic means that we possess, the approximate number of Jewish victims ought long since to have been established, but it sadly happens that the Exterminationists do not wish to establish it. When a regime like that in France has kept secret its own figures for over ten years now, it is hiding them for fear of Jewish reaction, and, as we shall see farther on, Vidal-Naquet has taken part personally in this refusal to communicate a bit of information which inevitably would embarrass the liars and jugglers of numbers.

8. On pages 213 and 214, Vidal-Naquet writes of Klarsfeld: "In the same way, Klarsfeld, by the thorough work which characterizes his *Mémorial*, has decreased by more than 40,000 the number usually given for the deportation of Jews from France (from 100,000 to a little more than 76,000)."

Response: I have already said what I thought of Klarsfeld's book. The content is worthy of a photograph which appears on the cover. The photo is cropped in order to appear pitiful: The smiling persons have disappeared. One can find the photo in its complete form on page 188. Second distortion: On page 28, Klarsfeld leads us to believe that General Kohl was in favor of the physical destruction of the Jews, when it was a question of a destruction of their influence, "like that of the political churches." The words omitted are: "Er zeigte sich auch als Gegner der politischen Kirchen" ("He showed himself to be also an enemy of the political churches.") This very serious distortion of a text from [SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor] Dannecker originates with Josef Billig, followed by Georges Wellers, followed by Michael R.

Marrus and Robert O. Paxton. Each one has replaced the missing phrase with an ellipsis, the typographical sign of an omission. Each therefore could say, "here finally is proof of the decision to exterminate. The only proof, to tell the truth." With Klarsfeld the distortion is all the more conscious since, before publishing his *Mémorial,* he had published *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage in Frankreich* (The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem in France) (Paris: Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, 1977) for the German courts that were to try [Kurt] Lischka. In that work it was impossible to conjure up those three periods (ellipsis) all of a sudden in the middle of a letter by Dannecker (page 36). I can cite a third attempt at trickery on Klarsfeld's part on page 245 of his *Mémorial*, in regard to the diary of Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer: see my *Mémoire en défense,* p. 125.

There is something infinitely more serious, however. In order to determine the number of the dead among the 76,000 Jews deported from France, Klarsfeld used an astonishing procedure: He declared DEAD all those who had not taken the trouble to go declare themselves ALIVE to the Ministry of Veterans by the deadline of 31 December 1945! And that at a time when that step was neither obligatory nor official. Truth obliges me to note that Klarsfeld did go to Belgium to find out whether it would be possible to gather there more names of survivors. The majority of Jews deported from France were foreigners. I do not think they had a great longing to return to a country which had turned them over to the Germans.

Klarsfeld has not troubled to find out how many Jews deported from France, then liberated, migrated to Palestine, the United States, South Africa, Argentina, etc. He has had no scruple about counting as dead all those who, after returning to France, presented themselves, without being asked to do so, at the door of the Ministry of Veterans *after* 31 December 1945. One could say a great deal about his *Mémorial,* about the appendix to *Mémorial*, or about the thousands of "gassed persons" made up out of whole cloth by the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris, according to Klarsfeld's own statement.

Vidal-Naquet says that the number usually given for Jews deported from France was 100,000 and that Klarsfeld reduced that to a little more than 76,000, thus bringing about a revision of about 40,000 (?). There is an error there. The number usually given was 120,000 and not 100,000, and the revision is therefore about 44,000. According to Klarsfeld, in 1939 France had about 300,000 Jews (French, foreign, stateless) out of its 39 million inhabitants (see his page 606). From that we conclude that three quarters of the Jews settled in France were not deported; a strange phenomenon to reconcile with a supposed policy of "extermination." A phenomenon still stranger in Bulgaria and in pre-war Romania or in Denmark or Finland. A phenomenon all the stranger when we think of all of the associations throughout the world which include survivors of the "Holocaust" who, like Simon Wiesenthal himself, went from death camp to death camp without Hitler ever killing them.

The "Wannsee Protocol," which I do not feel has any value, for reasons that I do not have time to give here, is considered authentic by the Exterminationists. For this reason, I point out that the transcript notes 865,000 Jews for France in 1941. From that we would have to conclude that not even one tenth of the Jews of France were deported.

9. On page 214, in footnote 28, Vidal-Naquet writes:

> Faurisson declares (*Vérité* . . ., pp. 98, 115) inaccessible the findings of the Committee for the History of the (Second) World War on the total number of non-racial deportees. They can be checked very simply in J.P. Azema, *De Munich à la Liberation* (From Munich to the Liberation, 1979), p. 189: 63,000 deportees, of whom 41,000 were members of the resistance, an estimate obviously lower than those which were formerly accepted.

Response: I have never limited my criticism to the fact that the Committee hid from us "the total number of non-racial deportees." I had always reproached it for hiding from us the total number of true deportees; racial or non-racial. One will note that my criticism remains as valid today as yesterday, and that neither the Committee, nor Azema, nor Vidal-Naquet dares to reveal to us the number of racial deportees. I am going to do it for them: THE NUMBER WHICH THEY HAVE HIDDEN FROM US FOR NINE YEARS IS 28,162. (For the non-racial, it is exactly 63,085). Obviously that number—28,162 Jews—is terribly embarrassing for the Exterminationists. It was obtained at the end of an investigation which lasted twenty years. How to reconcile it with the number from Klarsfeld: about 76,000? Here is a good subject for our Exterminationists to reflect on. Must we assume that the Committee worked scientifically and that it assigned the characteristic of Jewishness to those for whom that characteristic meant deportation? Must we believe that Klarsfeld for his part counted as Jews all the Jews, whether they had been deported for that characteristic or for another such as resistance, sabotage, spying, black market, common-law crime? I don't know anything about it. I pose the question and I would certainly like some clarification. Let our people play their violins in unison!

Vidal-Naquet talks about 63,000 deportees, including 41,000 resistants, as an "estimate obviously lower than those formerly accepted." I find him a little bit shifty. He ought to be more precise and recall for us that at the main Nuremberg trial, the number of deportees from France was officially 250,000 (IMT, Vol. VI, p. 325), which, we might note in passing, gives us an idea of the seriousness of that tribunal which called itself "military" and "international" when it was only a judicial masquerade. It was neither military (with the exception of the judge from the USSR) nor was it international but inter-

Allied, with the victors alone cynically judging the vanquished on the basis of a statute which contained judicial abominations like Articles 19 and 21.

10. On pages 214 and 215 Vidal-Naquet writes, "It is quite simply a shameless lie to compare the Nazi camps with the camps created by a perfectly scandalous decision of the Roosevelt administration to house Americans of Japanese origin (Faurisson, in *Vérité* . . ., p. 189)."
Response: In fact, I wrote, "I describe 'genocide' as the act of killing men because of their race. Hitler no more committed 'genocide' than did Napoleon, Stalin, Churchill or Mao. Roosevelt interned American citizens of Japanese race in concentration camps. That was not 'genocide'." Let people reread my sentences. Where is there a *comparison* of the German camps and the American camps? Where is the "shameless lie" on my part? If I had had to compare them with anything, it would have been to say that in any case it would probably be better to live in a concentration camp run by a wealthy nation like the United States in 1941 rather than by a nation like Germany where shortages of all sorts were rampant. Azema, already quoted, wrote in footnote 2 of page 189, in regard to the mortality rate in the German camps: "During the last weeks, the epidemics reached an endemic stage, and the last transfers were particularly deadly."

Having said that, concentration camps are a modern invention that we owe not to the British in their war against the Boers, but to the Americans during their Civil War, and I think that the horrors of Andersonville[1] must have been as bad as the horrors of the English, German, Russian, or French camps. Let us recall modestly in what conditions, right after the war, we put many of our German prisoners of war, and for those who have a short memory, let us recall that the Americans demanded the return from France of the Germans whom they had given to us, and that the transfer operation had the name "Operation Skinny"; an operation involving those who had nothing more than skin on their bones.

11. On page 215 Vidal-Naquet wrote: ". . . it is the job of historians to take historical facts out of the hands of ideologues who exploit them. In the case of the genocide of the Jews, it is obvious that one of the Jewish ideologies, Zionism, exploits that great massacre in a way that is sometimes scandalous."
Response: Very well. But when *I* say that, people cry anti-Semitism and have me heavily sentenced by the French judicial apparatus: 360 million old French francs in fines, three months suspended prison sentence, and not one colleague to express his astonishment at the sentencing of a professor with but a single income. The only parties whom I accuse in this enormous lie about the "gas chambers" and about "genocide" are international Zionism and the State of Israel. To be exact, I accuse them of being the principal beneficiaries of it.

12. Vidal-Naquet spoke, on page 216, about the "demonstration made by Faurisson that the *Diary of Anne Frank* is, if not a 'literary hoax,' at least a doctored document." Then comes the following commentary: "On the scale of the history of the Nazi genocide, that change removes one comma."

Response: Here is what is troubling. The same Faurisson who finds himself treated on nearly every page as an inveterate liar and as a complete falsifier supposedly has the analytical qualities necessary to detect a doctored document where millions of readers saw a work of a staggering authenticity, which all by itself has supposedly done more good for the Exterminationist cause than have the six million dead. Are there two Faurissons? Does he thus divide himself from one suddenly into two? If that is the case, we must be shown how. Very many readers are going to think that, after all, he has used one and same method (textual, pragmatic, in accord with the facts) to distinguish the true and the false in every instance.

13. On page 216, in footnote 30, Vidal-Naquet writes: "You will find in her article [that of Nadine Fresco, "Les Redresseurs de morts," op. cit.] an excellent analysis of the methods of revisionist history."

Response: In that long article, loquacious and, as has been said, "ridiculing in tone," I have found no trace of any analysis whatsoever. I was named 150 times. I believe that I had the right to reply. I therefore sent the journal a text for that purpose. *Les Temps Modernes* let me know that there was no question of publishing it since I denied the existence of the "gas chambers" (oral response).[2]

14. On page 220, Vidal-Naquet reproaches the American Revisionist Dr. Austin App for having written: "The Third Reich wanted the emigration of the Jews, not their liquidation. If it had wanted to liquidate them, there would not be 500,000 survivors of the concentration camps in Israel [an imaginary number, Vidal-Naquet says] being paid German indemnities for imaginary persecutions."

Response: In volume 14 of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, in the article on "Reparations, German," it is said that on 12 March 1951, Moshe Sharett, in support of the demand for financial reparations from Germany, pointed out the necessity of absorbing 500,000 victims of Nazism into the land of Israel. Twenty-seven years later, in *Le Monde* of 3 November 1978, page 10, we read this: "An important part of the Israeli people escaped from the holocaust and is a living witness to the genocide committed by the Nazi beast," declares a communique of the Israeli embassy in Paris. Thirty-five years after the war, in *L'Agence Télégraphique Juive* of 9 December 1980, under the title "Le Parti des survivants" ("The Party of the Survivors"), we read: "There are between 200,000 and 500,000 survivors of the Holocaust in Israel. They are from 45 to 75 years old, says Tuvia Friedmann."

15. On page 221, Vidal-Naquet reproaches the Revisionists for asking proof from those who claim that the "gas chambers" and the "genocide" really existed. He does so in the following terms: "For here we are obliged, finally, to *prove* what happened to us. We, who since 1945, *know,* here we are occupied with being demonstrative, eloquent, with using the weapons of rhetoric, with entering into the world of what the Greeks called *Peitho*, Persuasion, which they made into a goddess who is not ours. Do you really understand what that means?''

Response: It seems normal to me for a historian to prove what he alleges and it seems to me abnormal to consider oneself dispensed from furnishing one's proofs. We note in the passage a confession which is quite considerable; that up to the present the Exterminationists *proved* nothing because they *knew*! Such is indeed the reproach that we always made against them. On the question of the ''gas chambers'' and the ''genocide,'' the Exterminationists have contented themselves with a sort of intuitive knowledge; infused, metaphysical, religious, elusive. They were convinced that that would be enough. Ah well, that is no longer quite enough.

16. On page 222, in note 41, Vidal-Naquet writes that Faurisson and Thion have dared to maintain that no expert report on a gas chamber has ever been done. He says: ''That is false; I have in front of me the translation of an expert report carried out at Cracow in June 1945 on the ventilation openings of the Birkenau gas chamber (Crematorium No. 2), on 25 kilograms of women's hair, and on the metallic objects found in the hair. This report which uses, Georges Wellers tells me, the classic methodology, reveals compounds of hydrogen cyanide in the material.''

Response: I am familiar with the expert reports ordered by examining magistrate Jan Sehn and carried out by the laboratory located on Copernicus Street in Cracow. *They are not reports establishing specifically that such and such a building was a homicidal gas chamber.* I ask why they did not make that elementary investigation (which, besides, is still possible today). What Vidal-Naquet calls or lists as the ''gas chamber'' of Crematorium No. 2 was a ''Leichenkeller,'' that is to say, an ordinary morgue; half buried to protect it from the heat, in a cul-de-sac, 30 meters by 7 meters in size, with support pillars in the middle. I know the ventilation system in great detail. A morgue has to be disinfected. For this they used Zyklon B, an insecticide invented in 1917, and still used all over today. Zyklon B is an absorbent of hydrocyanic acid on an inert, porous base—diatomaceous earth—which slowly releases gaseous hydrocyanic acid on contact with the air. It is therefore normal that an expert report turn up traces of that acid. As regards the hair, I recall that, during the war, hair was gathered in all of the barbershops in Europe. In factories or in the camps, it was used to make carpets, shag material, insoles for boots, etc. The camps were crammed with materials for recycling, which are explained today to tourists as all coming from the personal effects of victims. I personally have a series of documents which prove that part of the hair displayed in the National Museum at Auschwitz came in fact from a carpet and shag factory located at Kietrz, about 90 kilometers as the crow flies from Auschwitz. Traces of hydrocyanic acid were found in them, which again was very normal.

I renew here my repeated request that finally, 37 years after the end of the war, someone order an expert report on every place (either in its original condition, or in ruins) that is said to be a homicidal gas chamber. Let them begin with Struthof after, if necessary, a rereading of the Simonin, Fourcade Piedelièvre report and, especially, of the unlocatable report of the toxicologist Professor René Fabre.

17. On page 223, Vidal-Naquet writes: "Faurisson contents himself with stewing . . . about 'the miraculously rediscovered manuscripts,' the inauthenticity of which he does not even try to demonstrate."

Response: In my *Mémoire en défense*, which appeared after the present book of Vidal-Naquet, I prove the inauthenticity of those manuscripts. I do it on pages 232 to 236, in the chapter entitled *The Trickeries of the LICRA and All the Others.* I advise Vidal-Naquet to read, further, the special issue of the *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Special Issue 1, "Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos" (Manuscripts by Members of the Special Commandos) (Auschwitz State Museum Publishing Company, 1972). In the preface he will see on pages 5 and 17, not without surprise, to what extent the Poles chided the first publisher of those manuscripts because of his changes and manipulations. That publisher was none other than the illustrious Professor Bernard Mark, director of the Institute for Jewish History at Warsaw, who was denounced as a falsifier by the Polish Jew Michel Borwicz in the *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*, January 1962, page 93.

18. On the same page 223, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for having included *The Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto*, by Emmanuel Ringelblum, among the "false, apocryphal, or suspect" works.

Response: Let us decide about this simply by the way in which the book is introduced! I have in front of me: Emmanuel Ringelblum, *Chronique du Ghetto de Varsovie* (French version by Léon Poliakov from the adaptation by Jacob Sloan [Paris: Robert Laffont, 1978). On page 7, the note by the translator begins as follows:

> At the request of the editor, I have followed for this version of the *Chronicle* of Emmanuel Ringelblum the abridgment by Mr. Jacob Sloan, published in the United States in 1958 by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. I have nevertheless taken care to collate this text with the original edition in Yiddish, published in 1952 by the Institute for Jewish History in Warsaw [. . .] The Warsaw edition presents *gaps motivated principally by the place and date of publication*. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Jacob Sloan nor myself have been able to familiarize ourselves with the *original text of the manuscript preserved in Warsaw*. [emphasis added]

Must I recall here—last but not least—that the Institute's director, whose name Léon Poliakov does not give, was the forger Bernard Mark?

19. On page 224, Vidal-Naquet comes back to a quotation from Himmler and talks about "coded language," then quotes Goebbels who, in his *Diary*, on 13 May 1943, wrote: "There is therefore no other recourse left for modern nations except to exterminate the Jews . . ."

Response: As regards Himmler, I refer back to my paragraph 2, above. As regards what is "decoded," I would say, "Enough talk about decoding!" As regards Goebbels, I would say that wartime phraseology is always the same; it is always a question of exterminating the enemy to the last man. Look at the words of our "Marseillaise." I look likewise at the examples quoted by Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich in *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (The Auschwitz Myth) pages 82-85; statements by Vansittart, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Zionist officials, etc. Even a Jewish intellectual like Julien Benda, who claimed that he was a rationalist, wrote as follows on page 153 of *Un Régulier dans le siècle* (Paris [trans. Gallimard]: 1938):

> For my part, I maintain that by their morality the modern Germans are collectively one of the plagues of the world, and if I had only to press a button to exterminate them entirely, I would do it on the spot, even if I had perhaps to cry about any good people who would die in the process.

That said, Goebbels repeats, on several occasions in his *Diary*, "The Jews must be chased from Europe." At the time he spoke, on 7 May 1943, they had not even been chased from Berlin, and at the time of "liberation," in May 1945, the surprising discovery was made that there still existed in Berlin at least one Jewish day-nursery and a home for old Jews. As for Europe in general, it contained millions of Jews.

20. On page 224, Vidal-Naquet wrote that it is "a little surprising [. . .] that *no* SS leader denied the existence of the gas chambers."

Response: That is quite simply false. In the transcripts of the trials we observe quite often the obstinacy camp officials displayed in not wanting to accept the "evidence." See, in my *Mémoire en défense*, on page 45, what Germaine Tillion dares to write about the commandant of Ravensbrück:

> Commandant Suhren was naturally interrogated on several occasions on the subject of the gas chamber. He began by denying its existence, then he admitted it, but said that it was outside of his control and maintained that position in spite of the evidence to the contrary. "I estimate," he said (in the course of the interrogation of 8 December 1949), "the number of women gassed at Ravensbrück at about 1,500."

It is now recognized that there was never a gas chamber in that camp, where, furthermore, the location of the astonishing "gas chamber" has never been given! The same obstinacy was shown by Josef Kramer in regard to Auschwitz. He said in his first deposition that he had heard the allegations of former prisoners from Auschwitz according to which a gas chamber was supposed to be located there, adding that that was entirely false. In a later deposition, however, he said that there was ONE gas chamber but that it was under the authority of Höss (*Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-four Others* [edited by Raymond Phillips, London: William Hodge and Co.] pp. 731 and 738).

Regarding the same Josef Kramer, the French military court outdid itself in the matter of the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" at Struthof. It extorted from him two totally contradictory confessions as to the conduct of the gassing operation (Celle, on 26 July 1945 and Luneburg on 6 December 1945). If Richard Baer, in the course of an interrogation in about 1962 or 1963, had admitted the existence of "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, where he was commandant, there is no doubt that in the course of the Frankfurt trial the prosecution would have used it against his 22 accomplices, who were so stubborn and vague on the subject.

I repeat here that it is impossible to scoff at a taboo. One comes to terms with it, as all the German lawyers have done by counseling their clients to deny nothing about the matter; to let the prosecution say what it wished and to content themselves with affirming that, as regards themselves, they had nothing to do with so foul an affair.

Thus in the Renaissance witchcraft trials, the witch did not go so far as to say, "the best proof that I did not meet the devil is that the devil does not exist." She would have appeared diabolic. She used subterfuges. The devil without a doubt was there. There was loud noise some distance away. "But that was at the top of the hill, and I was at the bottom."

Not one of the defendants at the main Nuremberg Tribunal had known about the "gas chambers" and the "genocide"—not even Frank, the former governor of Poland, who was overcome by the worst Christian repentance; not even Speer, the most "collaborative" with his judges and with his conquerors. Speer was later to publish, at the request of his Jewish friends, a text in which he said that he held himself responsible . . . for his blindness! He, the minister of armaments, having, all things considered, supreme control over the activity of the concentration camps, had not SEEN any formidable human slaughterhouses, needing thousands of tons of coal for the incineration of the bodies of the victims of genocide, which operated, it would seem, night and day! Speer has been rewarded for his goodwill. Millions of copies of his books have been sold with the proviso that "after the withholding of taxes, he made a fifty-fifty split with Jewish organizations, notably French ones." (Remarks made to French television at the time of the appearance of his first book.)

In Volume 42 of the transcripts and documents of the International Military Tribunal, one discovers document PS-862. It informs us that, of the 26,674 former political leaders interrogated, not one had heard talk about the "extermination" of the Jews or about the "extermination camps" before the surrender in May 1945. Can it be imagined that the power of the taboo is such that thirty-six years after the war, a French professor who dares to deny the "genocide" and the "gas chambers" see himself condemned to three months suspended prison sentence and to 360 millions of old French francs in fines and publication expenses? And then in order to deny that those horrors existed, it is still necessary to be entangled for years with the question from the technical point of view. The common people, the Germans and their conquerors, scientists and laymen alike, all have a tendency to imagine when one talks to them about homicidal "gassing" that it was a very simple operation. After that, go on to deny that such and such a shower, such and such a concrete building was used for "gassing"! You think, "How will I procede to show that that commonplace operation did not take place in the building that they show me?" And you keep quiet. And your silence passes for agreement. About you they say triumphantly: "You see! He did not deny it!"

21. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet writes that my technical considerations on the American gas chambers, where one sees that it is very difficult to kill a single human being, do not at all prove that it would be impossible to carry out mass gassings. He adds that "the operation of gassings, like that of eating, can be carried out in vastly different conditions."

Response: I understand nothing of that reasoning, of those abstractions, and of those allusions. It seems to me that, if it is dangerous to gas one man, it must be still more dangerous to gas masses of men. I must reveal here that the LICRA [International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism—ed.], on 4 February 1981, consulted with the top toxicologist in France, Mr. Louis Truffert, in a completely fallacious and abstruse letter, to ask him if it were as difficult to ventilate a place gassed with Zyklon. Mr. Truffert then made a response which went rather in the direction expected by the LICRA. Unfortunately for them, I know Mr. Truffert, whom I have never yet talked to about my thesis about the non-existence of the Nazi "gas chambers," but with whom I have had a very long discussion on hydrocyanic acid. In company with my publisher, Pierre Guillaume, I went to see Mr. Truffert again, but this time I showed him the plans for Auschwitz, and in particular the "reconstruction" (*sic*) of a "gassing" which is located in Block 4 of the Auschwitz Museum. Please believe that the reaction of Mr. Truffert was instantaneous. He immediately exclaimed about the impossibility of a homicidal gassing operation in such conditions. It is that which he wanted to confirm for us in a letter of 3 April 1981, a copy of which was to be received by the LICRA. Here is the passage which directly concerns the question:

> Nevertheless, the observation that I made [in my response to the LICRA], concerning the possibility of going into a room containing bodies poisoned with hydrocyanic acid without a gas mask, involves the

> case of a gas chamber at ground level, opening to the fresh air, and it is evident that important reservations must be made in the case of underground installations. Such a situation would require a very large ventilation apparatus and draconian precautions in order to avoid pollution likely to be caused by accidents.

Could Vidal-Naquet be more precise about how I have used an "arsenal" that is not technical, but "pseudo-technical"? Is the consulting of six American penitentiary officials insufficient, and is Vidal-Naquet in a position to make suggestions of a scientific order to the Americans to bring about a remarkable simplification of the gassing process in their penitentiaries?

22. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for translating "Vergasung" as "gassing" when I translate "Keine Vergasung in Dachau" (Dr. Broszat) and as "carburation" when, in a document from January 1943, I encounter "Vergasungskeller," a word which Raul Hilberg is careful not to quote.
Response: It is all a matter of context! "Vergasung" can have still other meanings besides. Applied to a battle narrative about the gas war in 1918, it can be translated as "gassing." It can also be a question of non-homicidal gassing. For example, in a radio message of 22 July 1942 addressed to the Auschwitz camp, over the signature of General Glücks, we read, "I hereby give authorization for one five-ton truck to make the round-trip journey from Auschwitz to Dessau [the place where Zyklon B was distributed] and back in order to pick up gas intended for the gassing of the camp, in order to fight the epidemic which has broken out." The German text says "Gas für Vergasung": gas intended for gassing. Finally, at Dachau, the building which contained the disinfection gas chambers was called the "Vergasungsgebäude."

23. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for not devoting a line to the Einsatzgruppen, nor to Babi-Yar.
Response: Those were not my subjects. Similar police operations and similar places of execution existed among the enemy fought by the Germans on the Russian front. Euthanasia or medical experiments are likewise unrelated to the subject. On those two last points, I have the impression that people have made up an awful lot. I know researchers who are interested in all these supplementary subjects. Let us await their conclusions.

24. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for saying that numerous gypsy children were born at Auschwitz, without saying what became of them. He adds that they were exterminated.
Response: I quoted my sources: *Hefte von Auschwitz* (The Auschwitz Notebooks). If those children had been the victims of a Herod-like massacre at the time of their birth, *Auschwitz Notebooks* would not have failed to inform us in regard to each of them. I suppose that some of the children died, and that some of them survived and were

found in the long line of children in good health whom the Soviets filmed at the time of liberation of the camp. I recall that bands of Gypsies continued to wend their way through Europe during the war (see *Nord*, by Céline). Vidal-Naquet asserts to us that those children were exterminated. Where does he get that information?

25. On page 226, Vidal-Naquet writes: "[Faurisson] maintains that in France it was the Resistance which made the Gypsies disappear."
Response: In reality, I wrote on page 192 of *Vérité* . . .: "I recall that in France even the Resistance could see the Gypsies in a bad light and suspect them of espionage, informing, and black-marketeering." One of my footnotes refers to the following text: "I have personally made a detailed inquiry about the summary executions carried out by the Resistance in a small region of France. I was surprised to discover the Gypsy communities had paid a heavy tribute in dead; not at the hands of the Germans, but at the hands of the Resistance." Where, in fact, did Vidal-Naquet get the idea that the Gypsies have disappeared?

26. On page 227, in a footnote, Vidal-Naquet is pleased to recall a sentence which I have repeated for some years and that I am going to repeat here one more time: "I have searched, but in vain, for one single former deportee capable of proving to me that he had really seen a gas chamber with his own eyes."
Response: Vidal-Naquet does not propose any name to me; neither that of Martin Gray, nor that of Filip Müller (with whom I have asked television personality Bernard Volker to be good enough to confront me), nor Maurice Benroubi (discovered by *L'Express*), nor Yehuda Bauer or one of his friends (whom I said I was prepared to meet on Israeli television), nor Elie Wiesel, nor Samuel Pisar, nor Simone Veil, nor Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, nor Louise Alcan, nor Fania Fénelon, nor Dr. Bendel. In two years of research, the LICRA and its colleagues have been able to find for me only Mr. Alter Fajnzylberg, known as Jankowski. From him they obtained a very short deposition given to Mr. Attal, a notary in Paris. I was delighted at the prospect of meeting the latter in court. In his place, there came a very repetitive spokesman.

27. On page 228, Vidal-Naquet quotes "some documents on Auschwitz and on Treblinka (spelled Trembinki) which served as the basis for an American publication in November of 1944, attributed to the 'Executive Office of the War Refugee Board." He states: "There is nothing there that is not in accord in its essentials with either the documents of the members of the Sonderkommando or the testimonies of the SS leaders."
Response: I did not notice that in the document from the War Refugee Board it was a question of Treblinka or of Trembinki. It dealt particularly with Auschwitz, and to some extent with Maidanek (where they do not mention the existence of "gas chambers"). It is curious that that document was not used in the main Nuremberg trial,

where one page of fantastic statistics was simply reproduced from it (Document L-022).

As regards Auschwitz, that document is so little in agreement with the physical realities that it was sufficient for Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, in his work mentioned above, to juxtapose two photographs: on the one hand, the plan from photographic plate number 12 (= reality), and on the other hand, the plan from photographic plate number 13 (= War Refugee Board fiction).

The fabrication by the War Refugee Board is obvious. I recall it was in that document, published by the Roosevelt entourage, and among others, by the famous Morgenthau, that Katyn is attributed to the Germans (p. 11 of the "Polish Major's Report").

As regards "gassings," they were carried out, according to an anonymous Polish officer, by a spray from "hydrogen cyanide bombs" (page 13 of the English text)! This report had quite a suspicious and interesting history, very well revealed by Butz and by Stäglich. It is sufficient to find in their indexes the names of the presumed authors of the first report: Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler. We also find an interesting study by Stäglich in the journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1981/I) pp. 9-13.

I note that the alleged plan of the sites appears on page 15 of the American version and that it did not appear in the French version *Les Camps d'extermination allemands d'Auschwitz et Birkenau*(The German Extermination Camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau) (Office Français d'Edition, 2nd quarter of 1945).

28. On page 228, Vidal-Naquet dares to call on the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, which he says have been confirmed by Professor Pfannenstiel himself, who is supposed to have gone to find Rassinier in Paris in order to talk to him about them.

Response: In the different and seriously contradictory versions of the "confessions" of Gerstein, the incongruities, the stupidities, the nonsensical things (see above the 28 to 32 persons per square meter) are so numerous that one cannot believe that the Gerstein argument is still used. Léon Poliakov has inundated us with these different versions of what Vidal-Naquet himself had been obliged to recognize as some "faulty mistakes." This is a beautiful euphemism!

A thesis is presently being prepared which will expose the Gerstein "confessions" and what Léon Poliakov has made of them.[3] In her 1968 thesis, Olga Wormser-Migot was prudent enough to write on page 426: "For our part we have difficulty in accepting the complete authenticity of the confession of Kurt Gerstein or the veractiy of all its elements." As to what Dr. Pfannenstiel declared on several occasions to the German courts, here it is: 1) he treats Gerstein almost as a liar on several points; 2) he is extremely vague about the "gassing" which he is supposed to have witnessed one day side by side with Gerstein; a "gassing" with a Diesel engine, which is a curious way of gassing when we know the small amount of deadly carbon monoxide furnished by a system very rich in carbon dioxide.

Pfannenstiel is supposed to have gone to find Rassinier in Paris? That is very often said, but I know nothing about it since the visitor refused to give his name. It could be. How many times has a Nazi, bound by his "confessions" and compensated for them, served the good Exterminationist cause on command in respect to a Revisionist or hardened Nazi? When Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer came back from his long detention in Poland and wished to begin speaking again, the German courts gave him to understand that it was in his interest to keep quiet. He kept quiet. They re-employed him as a witness for the prosecution at the Frankfurt trial (1963-65) but always with that extraordinary discretion of the German judges about the actual conduct of the "gassings." I was able to become acquainted with a short correspondence between Rassinier and Pfannenstiel. I propose to publish it one day in order to show how Pfannenstiel sought to evade Rassinier's simple technical questions.

It is, furthermore, necessary to be clear on Belzec. Gerstein said that they "gassed" there; but there exist other theses quite as believable (or unbelievable), and I do not see how our establishment historians have been able to eliminate them in favor of the Gerstein thesis. According to Jan Karski, the Jews were killed with quicklime. According to the *New York Times* of 12 February 1944, page 6, the Jews were electrocuted. According to Dr. Stefan Szende, they proceeded in a quite sophisticated fashion: The same platform which electrocuted the Jews was raised from the water, then made red hot, and the Jews incinerated. Karski is today a professor at Georgetown University in Washington. In 1944 he published *Story of a Secret State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1944). Here is what is to be read on pages 349-351 of Karski's book:

> . . . I know that many people will not believe me, will not be able to believe me, will think I exaggerate or invent. But I saw it and it is not exaggerated or invented. I have no other proofs, no photographs. All I can say is that I saw it and that it is the truth.
>
> The floors of the car containing the Jews had been covered with a thick, white powder. It was quicklime. Quicklime is simply unslaked lime or calcium oxide that has been dehydrated. Anyone who has seen cement being mixed knows what occurs when water is poured on lime. The mixture bubbles and steams as the powder combines with the water, generating a large amount of heat.
>
> Here the lime served a double purpose in the Nazi economy of brutality. The moist flesh coming in contact with the lime is rapidly dehydrated and burned. The occupants of the cars would be literally burned to death before long, the flesh eaten from their bones. Thus, the Jews would "die in agony," fulfilling the promise Himmler had issued "in accord with the will of the Fuehrer," in Warsaw in 1942. Secondly, the lime would prevent decomposing bodies from spreading disease. It was efficient and inexpensive—a perfectly chosen agent for their purposes.

> It took three hours to fill up the entire train by repetitions of this procedure. It was twilight when the forty-six (I counted them) cars were packed. From one end to the other the train, with its quivering cargo of flesh, seemed to throb, vibrate, rock, and jump as if bewitched. There would be a strangely uniform momentary lull and then, again, the train would begin to moan and sob, wail and howl. Inside the camp a few score dead bodies remained and a few in the final throes of death. German policemen walked around at leisure with smoking guns, pumping bullets into anything that by a moan or motion betrayed an excess of vitality. Soon not a single one was left alive. In the now quiet camp the only sounds were the inhuman screams that were echoes from the moving train. Then these, too, ceased. All that was now left was the stench of excrement and rotting straw and a queer, sickening, acidulous odor which, I thought, may have come from the quantities of blood that had been let, and with which the ground was stained. As I listened to the dwindling outcries from the train, I thought of the destination toward which it was speeding. My informants had minutely described the entire journey. The train would travel about eighty miles and finally come to a halt in an empty barren field. Then nothing at all would happen. The train would stand stock-still, patiently waiting while death penetrated into every corner of its interior. This would take from two to four days.
>
> When quicklime, asphyxiation, and injuries had silenced every outcry, a group of men would appear. They would be young, strong Jews, assigned to the task of cleaning out these cars until their own turn to be in them would arrive. Under a strong guard they would unseal the cars and expel the heaps of decomposing bodies. The mounds of flesh that they piled up would then be burned and the remnants buried in a single huge hole. The cleaning, burning, and burial would consume one or two full days. The entire process of disposal would take, then, from three to six days. During this period the camp would have recruited new victims. The train would return and the whole cycle would be repeated from the beginning.

Let us however go on to Dr. Szende. The first edition of his book appeared in Sweden under the title *Den Siste Juden från Polen* (The Last Jew From Poland) (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlang, 1944). The second edition appeared in Switzerland as *Der letzte Jude aus Poland* (Zurich: Europe Verlag, 1945). The third edition appeared in Great Britain as *The Promise Hitler Kept* (London: Victor Gollancz). The fourth appeared in the United States of America with the same title (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945). I am reproducing here a short passage from page 161 of the American edition:

> When trainloads of naked Jews arrived at Belzec, they were herded into a great hall capable of holding several thousand people. This hall had no windows and its flooring was of metal. Once the Jews were all inside, the floor of this hall sank like a lift into a great tank of water which lay below it until the Jews were up to their waists in water. Then a powerful electric current was sent into the metal flooring and within a few seconds all the Jews, thousands at a time, were dead. The metal flooring then rose again and the water drained away. The corpses of the slaughtered Jews were now heaped all over the floor. A different current

> was then switched on and the metal flooring rapidly became red hot, so that the corpses were incinerated as in a crematorium and only ash was left.
>
> The floor was tipped up and the ashes slid out into prepared receptacles. The smoke of the process was carried away by great factory chimneys. That was the whole procedure. As soon as it was accomplished, it could start up again. New batches of Jews were constantly being driven into the tunnels. The individual trains brought between 3,000 and 5,000 Jews at a time, and there were days on which the Belzec line saw between twenty and thirty such trains arrive.
>
> Modern industrial and engineering technique in Nazi hands triumphed over all difficulties. The problem of how to slaughter millions of people rapidly and effectively was solved.
>
> The underground slaughter-house spread a terrible stench around the neighborhood, and sometimes whole districts were covered with the foul-smelling smoke from the burning human bodies.

This narrative, which Dr. Stefan Szende is supposed to have gotten from one Adolf Folkman, is crazy, but less crazy and more coherent than the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, which, let it be said in passing, are found to be in serious contradiction with the "truth" about Treblinka, such as it was established at the main Nuremberg trial. At Treblinka, with all due deference to Gerstein, the Jews were not gassed, but were scalded (see, for the racy details, document PS-3311).

Here again I ask Vidal-Naquet: Which story to believe? And why this one rather than that one?

29. On page 223, Vidal-Naquet writes that there are some more than doubtful "testimonies" in which an SS man, like Pery Broad, for example, seems to have adopted entirely the language of the victors. He adds that the memoir of Pery Broad on Auschwitz was drawn up *for the English* (the last three words are underlined by Vidal-Naquet himself).

Response: I know of few forgeries as obvious as the memoir of Pery Broad. Vidal-Naquet seems in agreement with me in seeing a forgery there, but he draws no conclusion from that. This forgery is *English* and at the same time of a workmanship and a tone that are perfectly Stalinesque, to the point of caricature. I say this to respond to the naive people who claim, contrary to all proof and to every investigation, that no torturing was done in the Allied prisons, and who add: "Look at how much agreement there is between the confessions collected in the West and those collected in the East." I point out in passing that in the lawsuit which was brought against me by the LICRA and eight other associations, the Pery Broad memoir was placed in evidence as an exhibit. They must really be in trouble if they have to present that kind of "proof" of the existence of the gas chambers!

30. On pages 232 and 233, Vidal-Naquet talks about Höss, the first of the commandants of Auschwitz. He recognizes that it is perhaps true that Höss's English captors beat him on several occasions. He says that he was "likewise maltreated by his Polish guards at the beginning of his incarceration in Cracow." He says that Höss could not have known the exact number of his victims and that "all the speculations made by Höss on the subject of the numbers of victims are useless." He recognizes that Höss gave absurd figures regarding the numbers of Romanian and Bulgarian Jews. He says, in return, that Faurisson is wrong to "make a great fuss on the subject of an error, repeated on several occasions, which in the testimonies collected by the English has him talking about the imaginary camp of 'Wolzek near Lublin' (probably a confusion and reduplication with Belzec and Maidanek)."

Response: Vidal-Naquet makes many concessions here. I dare say that a fair number of them come from his reading of my writings. But I admire the way that everything is minimized here! An outsider could believe that the speculations made on the numbers given by Höss come from Faurisson. Nothing of the kind! As to that affair of the Romanian and Bulgarian Jews, it is very serious. I point it out in order to show how Dr. Broszat mutilated the text of Höss's diary in order to remove certain blunders.

As to the camp of Wolzek, which in reality never existed, it cannot result from a confusion with Belzec, since Höss mentions the two camps side by side. Nor is it a question of a 'recopied error," but of a *second error.*

One looks forward to a complete judgment on the personality of Höss and on the degree of authenticity which one can attribute to the writings of a man tortured by everyone, committing enormous errors, either about numbers or places; whose writings, published in German eleven years after his hanging by the Communists, were seriously tampered with.

31. On pages 234-236, Vidal-Naquet attempts, without great conviction, it seems to me, to defend the principle of a trial like the main Nuremberg trial, or, in the case of Eichmann, that in Jerusalem. In order to know what was said at the Jerusalem trial, he refers particularly to the book entitled *Eichmann par Eichmann* (Eichmann by Eichmann).

Response: It is clever not to seek to defend the indefensible, especially when, like Vidal-Naquet, one voluntarily relies on humanitarian good conscience. I hope for his sake that he will never find himself in the defendant's dock with a representative from his conquerors on the judges' bench, someone who, of course, will have armed himself beforehand with all the moral justifications in the world for judging the vanquished.

I recommend the reading of these three pages for their mealy-mouthed tone: "That the material gathered at Nuremberg is not always of very good quality is certain [etc.]." As to using the compilation by Pierre Joffroy in order to know what was said at the Jerusalem trial, that shows an astonishing laxity. Vidal-Naquet could have consulted the transcripts of the trial at the Paris Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation. He entertains us with the following quotation: "Eichmann, in prison or at his trial, referred often to the works of Léon Poliakov as an authority and the best source about events." For my part, I can indeed believe it. Eichmann, in his cell, was fed like a Christmas goose. He ended up no longer knowing what he had heard, what he had seen, what he had read. Here, for example, is a very important passage from his interrogation by the Israeli government commissioner regarding the "gas chambers" directly from Transcripts, J1-MJ at 02-RM:

> *The Commissioner:* Did you talk with Höss about the number of Jews who were exterminated at Auschwitz?
>
> *Eichmann:* No, never. He told me that he had built new buildings and that he could put to death ten thousand Jews each day. I do remember something like that. I do not know whether I am only imagining that today, but I do not believe I am imagining it. I cannot recall exactly when and how he told me that and the location where he told me. Perhaps I read it and perhaps I am now imagining that what I had read I heard from him. That is also possible.

32. On pages 236-244, Vidal-Naquet talks about Paul Rassinier.
Commentary: He does so with a great deal of confusion. He clutches especially at what he calls the "fantastic calculations" by Paul Rassinier regarding the number of Jewish losses. It seems to me that in the matter of "fantastic calculations" and of cock-and-bull stories, no one could surpass our Exterminationists. We have seen from the foregoing that on these points Vidal-Naquet has made a fair number of concessions, and that it seldom happens, to tell the truth, that he leaves his rarefied atmosphere to set his feet on our earth for a moment. But he loses his temper when Rassinier uses statistics that come from a Russian Jew: David Bergelson. According to the latter, the Red Army was able to save a very large number of Jews at the time of the entry of the Germans into the Soviet Union in 1941. Vidal-Naquet says that source is worthless. For this he gives us two reasons, and I am personally completely in agreement with Vidal-Naquet on one of them, as to how David Bergelson could have known those numbers as early as 5 December 1942; but Vidal-Naquet will not allow me to use the same reasoning when I challenge a mass of numbers given hot and heavy immediately after the war by the Exterminationists. And what is there to say about the numbers of those supposedly massacred that the Polish resistance or Zionist groups in Geneva and Bern dared to give in the midst of the war?

Vidal-Naquet gives another reason for challenging Bergelson, and this time he makes himself hard to understand. He writes: "D. Bergelson was a writer who was a member of a Jewish committee created by the Soviet authorities for the purpose of making propaganda addressed precisely to American Jews. After the war, in 1952, his mission accomplished, he was shot." Let us reread each of those words slowly! What reproach can one make to this Bergelson? Was it a crime to be part of such a Jewish committee? Was it a crime to tell

American Jews that a number of their fellow Jews in Russia had died? What does this "mission accomplished," so long after the war, mean, and does Vidal-Naquet find that the Stalin courts and police did good work by shooting that Jew, at the very moment of the famous "doctors' plot"? No. Vidal-Naquet is certainly engaged in hiding part of the truth from us. We are going to have to tell it for him.

In 1977, Georges Wellers did not hide the truth in *Le Monde Juif* (April-June, page 65), when he told us that David Bergelson was part of an *ad hoc* Jewish committee created in the USSR at the end of 1941 and charged by the government with winning the sympathies and the financial support of American Jews for Russia in the war. In other words, Bergelson exaggerated the number of Jews in order to obtain more money. So it happens that, when confronted with many of the Exterminationist statistics, I think of what I call the "Bergelson complex."

Was it a sort of "Bergelson complex" which was suffered by those comedic showmen of relics who, like Salomon Mikhoels from the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee formed in Moscow, made a tour of American cities and showed the public a cake of soap allegedly made from the fat of Jews, and allegedly brought from a concentration camp? The sums of money brought in by those tours were important, as noted by Gerald Israel in *Jid/Les Juifs en URSS* (Yid/The Jews in the USSR) (Editions Spéciales/Jean-Claude Lattes, 1971).

33. On pages 246-247, Vidal-Naquet writes: "It is perfectly evident that Faurisson has not read the text that he mentions." He says that in regard to the declaration of war on Hitler's Germany by Chaim Weizmann, a declaration for which I gave as reference *The Jewish Chronicle* of 8 September 1939, page 1. He adds that this declaration of war "is made up." Finally he adds that Chaim Weizmann was not the president of the World Jewish Congress.

Response: That is true. I give Vidal-Naquet credit. Chaim Weizmann was the president, not of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), but of the World Zionist Organization (WZO). After the war he was to become the first president of the State of Israel. In 1939 and for some years before, Jews and Zionists were active in pushing the West into a crusade against Hitler. Even before the date on which the British and the French entered into a war against Germany, Chaim Weizmann had taken the initiative of writing, on the date of 29 August 1939, to the British Prime Minister in order to assure him of the support of the Jewish Agency for the cause of the democracies. He wrote: "The Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies."

Furthermore, a declaration made on 8 September 1939 at Jerusalem by the Jewish Agency assured the British that, despite the White Book of 1939, the Yishuv of Palestine would be loyal and would struggle for the victory of the British Empire. *The Times* of 6 September 1939 headlined it exactly: "Jews To Fight Against Nazi Germany," while in New York *The New York Times*, on page 9, headlined: "Jews Stand by Britain."

Curiously, Vidal-Naquet seeks to minimize the importance of Weizmann's act, while underlining that the latter expressed himself only in the name of the Jewish Agency. I will not be treacherous enough here to insist on the various motives which could have moved the Zionists themselves, some of whom had maintained contacts with Hitler's Germany. Zionism and Nazism had some points of agreement. I will simply say that rightly or wrongly Weizmann intended to speak in the name of the world Jewish community, and that it was indeed in that way that his initiative against Hitler was received by the whole world.

In the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, published in Jerusalem in 1971, we read in the article on Weizmann: "When World War II broke out, Weizmann immediately promised the British government all possible aid by the Jewish population in Palestine *and the Jewish people outside.*" (emphasis added)

John Toland, in his *Adolf Hitler* (Doubleday, 1976, page 574), reports this, which would merit verification at the source: [regarding Chamberlain] "(Later, according to Ambassador Kennedy, he said that the 'Americans and the world Jews had forced him into the war.')"

Having said that, let no one accuse me of having made the Jews responsible for the Second World War. I have never been able to determine who was responsible for any war.

34. On page 248, Vidal-Naquet points out a page of mine "which ought to be included as part of an anthology of filth." (!) I had written (see page 190 of *Vérité . . .*):

> Where there were large concentrations of Jews impossible to watch over carefully except through the intermediary of a Jewish police force, the Germans feared that which was to take place elsewhere, in the Warsaw ghetto, where suddenly, just behind the front in April of 1943, an insurrection took place. The Germans were amazed to discover that the Jews had built 700 blockhouses. They put down the insurrection and transferred the survivors to transit camps, work camps, and concentration camps. The Jews there lived through a tragedy.

Response: For Vidal-Naquet, the "filth" would rest in the fact that my informant here supposedly is Himmler, and that I had taken good care to hide my source. He says that "any reference to a note has charitably disappeared." I do not understand what he means by "charitable disappearance of a footnote reference." Actually, as the result of a typographical error, the number 48, which was to have appeared after the word "Blockhaus," was dropped. But note 48 shows up in its proper place, and reads as follows: "Speech given at Poznan on October 6, 1943, page 169 of the *Discours Secrets* of Heinrich Himmler (Paris: Gallimard, 1978). This is the French translation of *Geheimreden 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen* (Propyläen Verlag, 1974). That work is to be used with caution, especially its French translation." So where is the "filth"?

35. On page 249, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for having written that the Warsaw ghetto insurrection took place just behind the front, in April 1943. He says that the front was then very far away, more than a thousand kilometers distant.
Response: Vidal-Naquet here confuses the "front" with the "front line." The front line was located perhaps more than one thousand kilometers away, but the Russian front (as we say, the German front, the Pacific front, etc.) really began at the Pripet Marshes.

36. On pages 249-250, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for not giving more details on that insurrection, and begins to talk again about "[my] master, Himmler."
Response: I do not have to spend time on what was not my subject. I left the subject of the ghetto and what Himmler has said about it with the following sentence: "The Jews there lived through a tragedy."

37. On pages 250-251, we think that Vidal-Naquet is finally going to come to the subject itself, that is to say, the homicidal "gas chambers." In fact, he talks about one document in German (a commonplace travel order), in which we read: "One hundred twenty-five men and 684 women and children have been subjected to special treatment (*sonderbehandelt wurden*)." He asks, "Will he dare say that those persons were taken to a rest camp?"
Response: I note that Vidal-Naquet does not dare to say that those people were gassed. I note that he comes back to "Sonderbehandlung." On the one hand, I believe that I have already answered that question; on the other hand, I note that in the same convoy 406 men and 190 women were put to work. For the men it is specified that the work was in the Buna factories; for the women, it is not specified. The other men, women, and children, therefore, benefited from special treatment; they did not have to work. This is what can explain why, at the time of the liberation of Auschwitz, so many men, women, and especially children were found very much alive among those "incapable" of marching and taking part in the evacuation—along with, of course, the sick and the dead. In the calendar from the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (1961, Volume IV, p. 81) the writers had no fear about stating quietly that the 125 men and the 684 women and children were all gassed. Elsewhere, the same calendar considers two convoys which left Drancy on 4 and 6 March 1943 to have been gassed. But Serge Klarsfeld, in his *Mémorial* (p. 110, pp. 386-389), rectifies the "mistake"—those two convoys went to Maidanek and he found the survivors.

38. On page 251, in note 86, Vidal-Naquet makes a very brief allusion to the famous aerial photos of Auschwitz recently revealed by the CIA. We talk about them on page 319 of *Vérité*. He says that "it seems in fact that one photo taken on 25 August 1944 [. . .] shows the process [of extermination] in action."
Response: With the photo in front of us Vidal-Naquet would never dare claim such a thing. That photo, like all the photos from Brugioni

and Poirier, issues a stinging reproof to the whole Exterminationist legend. The two Americans themselves, quite crestfallen, are obliged to write on page 11: "Although survivors recalled that smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys and was (*sic*) visible for miles, the photography we examined gave no positive proof of this." The two authors add in a footnote: "The imagery examined from records of the extermination period include (*sic*) 4 April, 26 June, 26 July, 25 August, and 13 September 1944."

Personally, I would permit myself to add here that in a letter which can be consulted in the National Archives in Washington (letter of Robert G. Poirier to Professor David Wyman on 6 March 1979), it is said that there were as many as 32 aerial missions over Auschwitz from 27 December 1943 to 14 January 1945. Since it happens, on the other hand, that I possess copies of the intelligence reports of the OSS (ancestor of the CIA) about the region, as well as certain technical commentaries on the photos, I can state here that the knowledge that the Allies had about Auschwitz was astonishingly precise. Had there taken place at Auschwitz or in its region anything at all that resembled enormous massacres on an industrial scale, there is no doubt that the Allies would have revealed it immediately. The official announcement of such massacres would have been a stupendous psychological weapon whose destructive effect the Nazis would not have been able to counteract. It is clear that if the Allies refused to believe the allegations of the Zionists of Geneva or of Bern, or those of the Polish Resistance it is because they knew, just as did the Vatican and the International Red Cross, that to stick to the facts, and not to the malicious wartime gossip, there was in reality neither an extermination nor a holocaust.

39. On pages 251 and 252, Vidal-Naquet writes: "Auschwitz was, they [Butz, Faurisson, Thion] all tell us again and again, a great industrial center, specializing in the production of synthetic rubber. But no one has ever explained to us why babies had to go there, and no one has told us what became of those babies. The complete inability of the 'revisionists' to tell us what became of those who were not registered in the camp and whose names nevertheless appear on the lists of the convoys is proof of the lying character of their statements."

Response: In the beginning, the Germans wanted to intern in their camps only those from 16 or 18 to 55 years of age who were capable of working. They supposedly dispensed with persons unable to work. Why, nevertheless, did they, little by little, deport those incapable of working—even babies?

There are several reasons for this. The first is the insistence of the governmental authorities of the occupied countries on not having families dislocated. The religious authorities especially protested against breaking up families, and the fact that some children were turned over to houses of correction, to homes, to foster parents, etc. Georges Wellers in *L'Etoile jaune* . . . (op. cit.) shows very clearly that no one imagined that he was leaving Drancy for an extermination center (see pp. 4, 5, 233 *et seq.,* 254 about the "grouping of families"). Indeed some people, allowed to live at Drancy in idleness, said that all in all, it was better to go to the East where their lot would doubtless be difficult, but less depressing. To the children they explained that they were leaving for the mythical country of Pitchipoï. Among those who left, there were even some "volunteers."

Sometimes they allowed families to vote on the question of whether to take their children with them or to leave them in France (C. Levy and Paul Tillard, *Le Grand Rafle du vélodrome d'hiver* [The Great Round-up at the Vélodrome d'hiver], Robert Laffont, quoted by Georges Wellers in *Le Monde Juif,* July/September 1980, p. 109).

A section of Auschwitz-II was called the family camp, and there remain on the walls of the areas virtually never visited by tourists numerous drawings or paintings made by the children. What became of the babies? We know, at least for a part of them, through inquiries carried out twenty years after the war by the Poles, the results of which have been partially gathered in the volumes of the blue *Anthology* of Auschwitz (copy typed in French, in English . . .). This *Anthology* is very seldom read. On the subject which interests us here, I would recommend particularly, but not exclusively, Volume II, third part, pp. 31-114: "Results of the Psychiatric Examinations of Persons Born or Interned During Their Infancy in the Nazi Concentration Camps." This study, published in Polish in 1966, was translated into French in 1969. I quote here the French edition.

In the same volume, we can read an article on "The Examinations of the 'Children of Auschwitz'" (pp. 18-30). We find there sentences such as these: "The children examined up to the present were eight years old at the time of Liberation. Most of them were less than five years old when they were interned" (p. 18); "The youngest children had their numbers tattooed on their legs. As they grew, the number became unreadable" (p. 25); "The examinations and the studies continue. They are finding [written in 1965] more and more of the 'children of Auschwitz'" (p. 30).

People often reproach Laval for having strongly insisted to the Germans that they deport the children. The reproach is unjust. Laval in fact wrote: "I have in particular succeeded in not having the children separated from their parents" (*Mémoire en réponse à l'acte d'accusation* [Memoir in Response to the Bill of Indictment]), 1945. This is because, like the religious authorities, he did not want families to be broken up. Henri Amouroux (*La Grand Histoire des Francais sous l'occupation* [The Great History of the French Under the Occupation], Volume 5: "Les passions et les haines," page 333, note 3) reports this reflection made by Laval to Jean Jardin: "I have just come from a terrible meeting [with Oberg]. They want to leave the children with us. I said to them, "It is not customary for us to separate children from their parents.'"

Certain authors claim, in contrast to Georges Wellers, that the Central Consistory, for example, "knew" from 1942 that the deportees were destined for extermination. They give as proof a text which one can read on page 207 of Klarsfeld's *Mémorial*, something that the latter has entitled "The Vehement and Lucid Protest of the Central Consistory" (25 August 1942). I have some doubts about the authenticity of that document. Excluded from the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, under threat of physical force by its director, M. Meram, I have had to ask someone to go to verify the original text for me (references CCXIII-15 and CDLXXII-89). Here is the response that I received: "Alleged duplicate which is in fact a sheet of onionskin paper, without a letterhead, without a signature and bearing only the date of 25 August 1942."

There were other causes for the deportation of children: for example, the systematic clearing of the ghettos, or systematic expulsion (see the examples of Warsaw or Budapest).

In the blue *Auschwitz Anthology*, we can read the report of a Polish midwife who, as part of her thirty-eight year career, had, in the course of two years spent at Auschwitz-Birkenau, delivered the babies of 3,000 Jewish and non-Jewish women; and that was done, she said, with an exceptionally high rate of success (Warsaw, 1969, Vol. II, 2nd part, pp. 159-169: "Rapport d'une accoucheuse d'Auschwitz" [Report of a Midwife at Auschwitz], S. Leszczynska, translated from an article that appeared in 1965 in the medical review *Przeglad Lekarski*).

40. On page 252, in note 88, Vidal-Naquet writes: "Pierre Guillaume, questioned by me on that subject [where did those not registered in the camp go?] answered that those persons were transferred to the station at Kielce. Why?"

Response: He meant Kosel (120 kilometers from Auschwitz) and not Kielce. Pierre Guillaume was alluding to a fact that Klarsfeld reports on page 12 of his *Mémorial*. Klarsfeld recalls the astonishing method used in Paris by the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation and at Auschwitz by the National Museum of Auschwitz in order to determine the number of persons gassed. For example, when it was discovered that a convoy that had left France did not seem to have reached Auschwitz, both places calmly deduced that the convoy did reach Auschwitz, but that it had been completely gassed there!

So it is that a convoy of 3,056 persons was counted as gassed, when in fact it had stopped at Kosel and not at Auschwitz. As we have already seen above, they assumed the same for convoys numbers 50 and 51, which instead of proceeding to Auschwitz made their way to Maidanek. The same for convoy number 73 which went to Kaunas and Reval. In short, there, and again elsewhere, they invented mass gassings. But the irony of the affair is that Klarsfeld, who rectifies these errors, commits still worse errors in counting as dead the persons who did not return to France before 31 December 1945 to declare themselves alive.

41. On page 253, Vidal-Naquet writes that Faurisson "triumphantly publishes the photo of Simone Veil, who was thought to have been gassed, but is still alive. The reason for that error is extremely simple [etc.]."

Response: I would certainly not contradict Vidal-Naquet. The reason for that "error" could not be more simple. As Vidal-Naquet tells it, "The camp archives, incomplete, no longer include the names of the women who were registered [for work]." The Exterminationists, then, completed those archives, "decoded" their incompleteness, and made them speak; they made them say one more time: Here is the proof that all the women of such and such a convoy were gassed. The case of Simone Veil is far from being an exception. It shows, thanks only to the celebrity of the lady in question, the incredible dishonesty of all of these statistics about the gassed or the dead.

42. On page 255, Vidal-Naquet allows a digression about poetry. To borrow his own expression, that "is obviously absurd." I am even less inclined to pause here since it would get us away from our subject.

43. On pages 255-261, Vidal-Naquet tries to "code" in order then to "decode" the diary of Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer.

Response: I would say first, one more time: Enough decoding! I would then add that Vidal-Naquet wrote these pages before the publication of my *Mémoire en défense* which deals in large part with the diary in question. The reader of that *Mémoire* will find there, I think, an answer to the questions and the criticism of Vidal-Naquet.

44. On page 261, in note 102, Vidal-Naquet talks about a report by a delegate of the Red Cross concerning his visit to Auschwitz.

Response: Vidal-Naquet probably did not expect that I would return in my *Mémoire en défense* to that report which had been mentioned on page 115 of *Vérité*. For each reader who would like to form for himself an idea of Vidal-Naquet's scrupulousness in reading a text, I advise careful reading of pages 241 to 247 of my *Mémoire*. He will find there, on the one hand, an analysis of the essential passage of the delegate's report, and on the other hand, an enumeration of the procedures by which either private persons or organizations have distorted that document, which is very embarrassing to the Exterminationists. Vidal-Naquet is to be added to the list of private persons who distort the meaning of the text, without going so far, it is true, as a Marc Hillel (see p. 255 of *Les Archives de l'espoir* [Archives of Hope], Fayard, 1977, vi + 261pp).

45. On page 268, in note 113, Vidal-Naquet talks about John Bennett, an Australian leftist, secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties (the equivalent, in some sense, of the American Civil Liberties Union), a convinced Revisionist, who is struggling calmly and courageously, in my opinion, against the Exterminationist lie. Vidal-Naquet talks about "the campaign which has led to his being excluded from the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties," and his drawing near to the far right. Vidal-Naquet says that he gets his information from Charles Sowerwine, of Melbourne.

Response: I have in front of me *Your Rights,* which is the publication of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. It is the 1982 edition. I certify that John Bennett appears there (with his photo) as its secretary "since the founding of the association in 1966." I learn further that John Bennett had just been named president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union.

46. On page 269, Vidal-Naquet refers to "the hype surrounding *Holocaust,* the last stage in the transformation of Auschwitz into merchandise."

Commentary: The intellectuals have cleared the way for the merchants. Auschwitz, a place of suffering, has been transformed into a sort of Disneyland with, further, a Hilton in Cracow for tourists. We in France are awaiting the arrival of a new Wiesenthal film: *Genocide.*

47. On pages 273 and 279, Vidal-Naquet relies on Pitch Bloch, a chemical engineer, for the job of answering me about the chapter on Zyklon B.

Commentary: The course given by Pitch Bloch on Zyklon B smells terribly of improvisation, and I could not advise this chemical engineer too strongly to refer to the studies and to the works of G. Peters on the question, especially those which are mentioned on page 204 of *Vérité.* I would advise him likewise to read *Blausäuregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr* (Hydrocyanic Acid Gas Chambers for the Prevention of Typhus) by Dr. Franz Puntigam, Dr. Hermann Breymesser, and engineer Erich Bernfus (official publication of the Reich Ministry of Labor [Berlin, 1943]). At no point does Bloch explain to us how, at Struthof, Josef Kramer would not himself have been the first to have been asphyxiated while "pouring out crystals of a gas about which he could have said nothing except that with a little excess water that gas killed in ONE minute." I wrote that salt and water can not give off such a gas. Bloch replies shrewdly that "salt" (note the quotation marks) and water can produce a gas. Let us leave him to his subtleties and let him be good enough to answer the question which is asked, which is: Let someone give me the name of the salt, with or without the quotation marks, which, on contact with water, releases an acid the toxicity of which would be higher than that of hydrocyanic acid!

I recall here that the hydrocyanic acid used in American gas chambers puts the condemned person to sleep in approximately forty seconds and kills him in several minutes (Caryl Chessman in 14 minutes, I believe). While I discuss the foolish testimony of Höss regarding "gassings" at Birkenau, Bloch contents himself with "correcting" the surface area of the alleged "gas chamber" (in reality, a morgue called a *Leichenkeller*), stating that they put 2,000 persons in 236.78 square meters, and not in only 210 square meters.

Sorry. The plan shows very clearly that the dimensions of the *interior* of the room, including the support pillars, were 7 meters by 30 meters = 210 square meters. Bloch does not even outline a solution to the famous mystery: How the members of the Sonderkommando could, without a single gas mask, enter immediately a room full of 2,000 bodies just poisoned by cyanide gas, since we know of the strict precautions taken by the Americans before going into a small gas chamber and touching the body there even slightly. Bloch creates a diversion by talking about "the testimony of R. Vrba and F. Wetzler." I have already dealt with that above, in paragraph 27. But this time Bloch runs out of luck. Vidal-Naquet cites that testimony according to the remarks by Georges Wellers, who had used a French version from the Office Français d'Edition, 2nd quarter of 1945.

Bloch himself quotes for us the same document according to quite another source that he gives us in note 7 on his page 276; CIM, 1944. He thereby offers us, altogether unwillingly, the occasion for a treat, a comparison of the edition of 1944 with that of 1945. We notice then that, as usual in these stories concerning "testimonies" about the "gas chambers," they have grossly manipulated the text. I do not have the time to stop for that here. Nor do I have time to show how Georges Wellers in *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé* mutilated the quotations from the same document while using ellipses in parentheses where the "testimony" was too strong a brew (p. 115). I leave it to readers interested in the mechanisms of forgeries to go there to see it at close hand.

I will content myself with one example. According to this testimony, and according to the plan that is found in the American version (but not in the French version, as I said in paragraph 27 above), the "gas chamber" with 2,000 bodies and the crematory ovens are located on the same level: that of the ground. Therefore the bodies would have been transported from the "gas chamber" to the crematory ovens without using an elevator. In the real plan of the rooms, however, the multiple photographs, the visible ruins, ALL prove to us that the room with the ovens was located above ground and that the alleged "gas chamber," in reality a morgue, was located below ground. According to the "witness" invoked by Vidal-Naquet and Bloch, the transferral of the bodies took place either on "flat-hand trucks" (1944 version), or on "flat-bed trucks" (1945 version)!!!

Bloch also does not tell us where they put the 2,000 bodies before burning them. That would have required an immense place, which appears nowhere, either in the real plans, or in the fictional plans (like the War Refugee Board Report), or today at the site. But since Mr. Bloch believed that he ought to cite for us a "testimony" which now becomes very embarrassing, permit me to cite another one of equally striking veracity; that of Zofia Kossak (*Du fond de l'abîme, Seigneur* [From the Depths of the Abyss, O Lord], translated from the Polish, Albin Michel: 1951):

> There was no water; therefore, where were the showers? Above the doors were some narrow, oblong windows. Behind the window panes,

> German uniforms and faces are waiting, emotionless, but strangely evil and hostile. Have they all entered? . . . The door closes with a crash. That was not an ordinary door; it was a double door, impervious to gas . . . *A shrill ringing sound, and immediately, through some openings in the floor, the gas began to rise* [emphasis added]. From an exterior balcony which overlooked the door, the SS men observed with curiosity the agony, the terror, the spasms of the condemned. This was a spectacle that those sadists would never tire of. They contemplated it with the same pleasure several times each day. They noted the convulsions, the contortions, the particularly unusual postures. They had the time. The agony would last from ten to fifteen minutes. Certain ones died immediately, but others took a longer time. It depended on the dosage of the gas. When it happened that the crematorium office was economizing, the martyrdom took longer. At length, no one in the room stirred. *Five hundred* [emphasis added] women and children lay in a disorderly heap. Their dead eyes, wide with fear, stared up at the ceiling.—*New ringing sound* [emphasis added]. Powerful ventilators drove out the gas. The "Sonderkommando" appeared in masks and opened the door located opposite the entrance. There was a ramp there, *hand trucks* [emphasis added]. The team loaded them with bodies, quickly, quickly. Others were waiting. And then the dead were able to come to life again. The gas in such doses stuns, it does not kill. It happened many a time that the victims loaded on the last round came to on the hand carts . . . the hand carts *got down* [emphasis added] the ramp and *unloaded directly into the oven* [emphasis added] . . . —The annihilation of five hundred human beings has taken no more than *an hour and a quarter* [emphasis added]. Except for a handful of ashes [500 bodies of women and children would leave behind at least a ton of ashes—author's note] there would remain no other trace. The following group crossed the threshold of the bath. Chattering, the little girl held her mother's hand, and without interrupting her ditty, she crossed the threshold . . . (pp. 127-128).

To see, in a general way, the incredible contradictions between the witnesses in a single trial, regarding the manner in which Zyklon was introduced into the alleged "gas chamber," one could read the unintentionally humorous summary made by a German court which, for once, lingered for a short time on the technical aspects of the "gassings" (see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* [Justice and NS-Crimes], Amsterdam: University Press, 1975, Volume XIII, the case of Dr. Gerhard Peters, p. 134 or 415 b-5).

48. On pages 280-289, Vidal-Naquet continues with an "Appendix II." There he mentions and criticizes briefly my *Mémoire en défense* which had just appeared (fourth quarter of 1980). He says that I had "not devoted a single line to trying to respond to the dismantling" that he, Vidal-Naquet, had done to Faurisson's lies. Vidal-Naquet adds that by various details of editing of *Mémoire* (correction of all too evident errors), it is evident to him, Vidal-Naquet, that Faurisson was nevertheless familiar with his text. He gives only one example of a correction for which I should allegedly be indebted to him. That example relates to the translation of the German "darniederliegen" used by Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer.

Response: On page 20 of my *Mémoire*, I say to my readers that the translation into French by the Poles was "annihilated," when the original German text said "liegen [. . .] darnieder," which meant there, "were sick in bed." My editor has been able to prove clearly to Vidal-Naquet that I was not at all indebted to him for that detail since my translation was done prior to the article by Vidal-Naquet. In a letter that he sent in response to my publisher, Vidal-Naquet has indeed been willing to agree with that.

49. On page 280, Vidal-Naquet writes:

> [I have shown that] not *one single time* in [the Kremer diary] did the "special actions" in which the doctor participated have any connection whatsoever with the struggle against typhus. Faurisson is incapable, for good reason, of producing a single argument, a single response on this point. I have said it before and I repeat it now; his interpretation is a forgery, in the full meaning of the term.

Response: On 5 September 1942, Dr. Kremer was present at a special action at the *women's hospital* and he adds, in parentheses, "Musulmans [*sic*]." That term was applied to sick persons who had reached the last stage of consumption. Then, on 7 October 1942, Dr. Kremer writes: "I was present at the ninth special action (people from outside and Musulman women)." How could Vidal-Naquet claim that the condition of those male and female "Musulmans" had no connection with the formidable epidemic of typhus which ravaged both the camp and the city, causing deaths among the camp inmates as well as among the German soldiers and their families?

50. On page 281, in note 3, Vidal-Naquet recalls briefly, and as if it went without saying, that "special action" was the "code word for gassing."

Response: Once again, enough decoding!

51. In the same passage, Vidal-Naquet writes: "A falsehood that has been changed without informing the reader remains of course a falsehood," and he remarks that in *Vérité* . . . , on pages 109-110, I defined "special action" as being "the sorting out of the sick and healthy," while later on, in my *Mémoire*, on page 34, "the special action" becomes, in addition, the cleaning of the railway cars, either third-class coaches or especially freight cars, in which newly detained persons had just arrived."

Response: It is sufficient to go back to my text in order to see that the accusation by Vidal-Naquet is based on a bad reading. In fact, in *Vérité* . . . on pages 109-110, I defined the sorting out of the sick and the well as "ONE of the forms of the doctor's 'special action.'"

52. On page 286, Vidal-Naquet writes: "Faurisson has been banned neither from the library nor from the public archives." He recalls that

the personnel of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris "after some years of forbearance" have refused to serve me and that to him that "seemed quite normal" since I questioned the Center "in its fundamental activity, that of remembering the crime" (*sic*). Vidal-Naquet adds that the Center is a "private foundation."
Response: The staff of the Center, or at least a part of the staff, is paid by the French taxpayer. For some months the staff increased its provocations so that I could no longer come to work at the Center. I was driven away by the director in person, Mr. Meram, who threatened me with physical assault if I tried to return. Thereupon, I received from Georges Wellers a letter in which he informed me of his refusal to let me have access to the library and the archives; all done in the name of the noblest ideals. In doing that, he was, he said, "sure of finding himself in the noblest traditions of this country, where freedom and the respect for human dignity are indissoluble" (27 April 1978).

I have likewise been driven away from an institute in Paris and from a research center and library in Vienna. I state explicitly that in spite of what he supposedly declared to a French journalist, Mr. Simon Wiesenthal has never forcibly shown me to the door of his home. To the contrary, he received me with a very Viennese courtesy. It is true that at the time he did not know my opinion about the "gas chambers"!

But, in fact, does the Vatican Library refuse access to agnostics? I note that, if I am prosecuted like a criminal in the courts by a swarm of organizations, it is likewise done in the name of the noblest ideals; they are not harming the freedoms of thought and expression—they are protecting them!

53. On page 286, Vidal-Naquet writes: "I myself claim, and I prove, that Faurisson, outside of the very limited case of the *Diary of Anne Frank*, is not seeking truth but falsehood."
Question: How can that be reconciled in the same man?

54. On the same page, in note 12, Vidal-Naquet obviously does not know what to say in response to the forty pages (pages 181 to 222 of *Mémoire en défense*) which I devote to the "drastic revision of 1960." I recall there how the "gas chambers" of the Old Reich went, so to speak, down the chute, and I amuse myself collecting "strikingly true testimonies about the non-existent gassings, for example, at Buchenwald and Dachau." Here is how Vidal-Naquet gets rid of the thorn. He writes:

> In order to be complete, I would say that [in Faurisson's new book] there is a file about the imaginary or non-functioning gas chambers in the camps in the West, Buchenwald, Dachau. But all that is so badly analyzed historically that even that documentation is usable only with difficulty.

Response: There is no analysis on my part, either historical or otherwise. I content myself above all with a simple enumeration of the false testimonies. The enumeration in and of itself speaks volumes. In it we can read, between the lines, the famous question which no one has yet answered: "What difference do you see between the 'testimonies' about Buchenwald or Dachau and the 'testimonies' about Auschwitz or Belzec?" Had I wanted to do an analysis of each of the false testimonies that I cite, I am sure that my analysis would have been of a biblical simplicity. Let us take a short example. Here is a false testimony about Dachau. It is from Fernand Grenier and I quote it on page 218 of my *Mémoire en défense.* First I shall give the text and then I shall analyze it.

TEXT OF THE FALSE TESTIMONY

> To the side of the four crematory ovens which never stopped working there was a room: some showers with sprinkler heads in the ceiling. In the preceding year [1944] they had given a towel and a piece of soap to 120 children, from 8 to 14 years of age. They were quite happy when they went inside. The doors were closed. Asphyxiating gas came out of the showers. Ten minutes later, death had killed these innocents whom the crematory ovens reduced to ashes an hour later.

ANALYSIS OF THE FALSE TESTIMONY

Since it is admitted that nobody was ever gassed in Dachau, the false witness Fernand Grenier has totally made up:

(1) The four crematory ovens which never stopped working;
(2) The room with the false showers and shower heads;
(3) The year in which the event took place (in contrast to many witnesses, he does not go so far as to give the month, the day, and the hour);
(4) The children;
(5) The number of those children;
(6) The ages of those children;
(7) The 120 towels and pieces of soap;
(8) The complete joy of the children on entering;
(9) The closing of the doors (in the plural);
(10) The asphyxiating gasses;
(11) The 10 minutes it took for death to occur;
(12) The record time for the cremation of 120 children's bodies in four ovens—only one hour, when today, with more modern means than those of 1944, four ovens of the kind that function at Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris would need 225 hours, or about nine days (45 minutes per body without antibiotics; if not, 50 to 60 minutes per body).

My analysis will stop here. To continue would serve no other purpose than to measure the candor of all who believe that such stories are not made up.

With regard to false testimony, I would be happy if Vidal-Naquet would give me his opinion on *Sachso* (op. cit.). There, on numerous occasions, the "gas chamber" of that camp is discussed, although it was located 30 kilometers from Berlin; that is to say, in the Old Reich, where, as we have known officially since the drastic revision of 1960, there was no homicidal gassing.

In 1968, Olga Wormser-Migot, in her thesis on *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1932-1945* (The Nazi Concentration Camp System 1932-1945) wrote in note 2 on page 541, in the midst of a chapter significantly entitled, "The Problem of the Gas Chambers," that the Oranienburg "gas chamber" appeared to her to be "on the order of myth."

In *Sachso*, which is presented as a collective work, the authors reproduce for us two photos of Soviet origin tending to support the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. One does not see in them the least bit of the alleged "gas chamber." The first caption reads as follows:

> One of the butchers of the camp, Paul Sakowski, in the presence of an officer of the Soviet Commission of Inquiry, repeats in 1945 the movements which released death into the gas chamber.

The second caption reads as follows:

> To the left of the heavy, armored, and air-tight door to the execution room he activates the lever which seals all the ventilation openings. Then, with a slap of his palm on a hammer, he breaks the ampule of Zyklon B, the deadly vapors of which spread throughout the interior.

But it is interesting to know that Zyklon B, invented in 1917 (the license dates from 1922) and still currently in use today throughout the world, never existed in ampules. Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid absorbed into an inert porous base—diatomaceous earth, for example. The funny thing about the plan of the camp which they have drawn is that it very clearly says "Industrie Hof (*sic*)/Crematory/Gas Chamber/Execution Chamber," but all that is accompanied by an arrow pointing toward the open, so that it is impossible to distinguish the shape, the proportions, or the location of the "gas chamber."

I would likewise hope that Vidal-Naquet will tell us his feelings about the "Exhibition on the Deportation, 1933-1945" which took place in late April and early May of 1982 on the Place du Trocadéro in Paris. On 30 April, in a "Supplement to the Quarterly Review *Les Amis de Paul Rassinier*, No. 1, June, 1982," I wrote an article about it which ends as follows:

> In a general way, the 1982 exhibition marks an interesting evolution of the myth of the homicidal gas chambers. The fragments they show us of the alleged homicidal gas chambers are smaller and smaller. They are tending toward the infinitesimal, toward zero, toward nothing. Many gas chambers are no longer shown at all! They content themselves with showing us the building which is supposed to have contained them.
>
> I add, under the heading "N.B.," the book by Georges Wellers, entitled *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé* (Gallimard, 1981), containing 12 photographs; not one shows a homicidal gas chamber.

I know several academic historians who no longer believe in the Nazi "gas chambers." They have confided that to me but dare not state it publicly. They feel the time has come to abandon the pious lie, but they don't know how to go about it.

To them I suggest a trick devised by one of my lawyers, who, after having believed firmly in the academic dogma, suddenly realized that he had been deceived. The means he devised in order not to appear to have changed his mind too much is as follows:

He described the "gas chambers" as "metaphorical." No doubt those horrors had not really taken place, but they conveyed very well all the real horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, and all in all they were a faithful image of the sufferings of the deportees and a moving representation of what some suffering minds really believed they knew. After all, the figure of 6 million Jews dead has become a "symbolic number," *eine symbolische Zahl*, since 3 May 1979 in a court in Frankfurt (case 50 Js 12 828/78 919 Ls, against Erwin Schönborn) where Dr. Broszat, once again, testified as an expert witness, based on his position as director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. The alleged gas chambers are "metaphorical," the alleged number of 6 million dead "symbolic."

All that remains is to find an adjective of the same kind for the alleged "genocide."

55. On page 288, Vidal-Naquet assures us that my "freedom of expression, subject to existing laws, has never been threatened."

Response: His "subject to" is something to be relished. Vidal-Naquet has respect for law—for the law, for example, which, as a result of my having stood up for my idea about the "gas chambers" and the "genocide," led to my being condemned to a suspended sentence of three months in prison and to 360 million old francs in various fines plus the expenses of publicizing the decision. I have against me a pack of organizations and a mob of lawyers. I have been crushed by the debts from all those trials. I no longer have the right to teach. I have been attacked and physically beaten on several occasions. I have been the object of real lynching attempts. My health has become such that I had to be hospitalized three times in one year, for one month each time. My family life is completely upset. One of my children has had to give up his studies because of the name he bears. I am insulted in the French and international press as no one else, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been. The right to reply is almost systematically refused to me since a judge declared that to put "gas chamber" in quotes is to cast a slur upon some kind of holy thing. The Council of State has declared that there is nothing "materially inexact" in declaring me to be an academic who has never published anything in his life! The administrative court of the *département* of the Seine has never investigated a complaint I made in January 1975. I have encountered serious problems when I've had to find a lawyer. All of them have avoided the job. One of them was expelled from the MRAP [Movement against Racism and for Peace between Peoples] for having had the audacity to defend not my ideas, but my right to freedom of expression. A portion of my books was destroyed in the warehouse. A unit of the Jewish Defense Organization called for an attack against us in a hall of "La Libre Pensée" ("Free Thought") and smashed 12,000 francs worth of property.

One night at 9:30 p.m. a sheriff's officer came on behalf of the MRAP to seize a video-cassette which the Jewish Defense Organization had just seized. We are the objects of never-ending threats. The vigilantes flourish in Paris, as in the provinces. Because of all this my wife has been sick for four years and lives in constant fear.

We have had some of our furniture repossessed while awaiting the possible seizure of a house that I have not yet completed paying for (purchased for 105,000 francs in 1968); our car has been seized, and most of my salary (my sole source of income) taken.

I have paid for all my research, and related travel expenses, out of my own pocket. When, for once, I won a court case (against *Le Matin de Paris*, which had written that I had received a reprimand for anti-Semitic remarks at the lycée in Clermont-Ferrand), the judge—Mme. Simone Rozès—did not want to publicize the decision because of the "special character of the case."

Dr. Marc Aron, the president of the consultative committee of the Jewish organizations in Lyon, declared one day that I would never again teach in Lyon, and organized demonstrations on the premises of my university by persons from outside the university. My case was the subject of administrative inquiry. The rector concluded it as follows: "Professor Faurisson is unassailable; he has not committed any professional error." That meant nothing, nor did the moving support of my students, nor the qualities which I seem to have shown up to that time ("Very brilliant professor; very original researcher; exceptional personality"). Not one of my colleagues came to my defense. Some of them went so far as to write to the president (socialist) of my university to assure him of their support against the black sheep. I have the letters. There are 25 of them.

I was warned by the Disciplinary Council to disappear from circulation. They assured me that, since the Council was constituted as it was, the opinion of the rector was of no importance. As a result of this pressure, I asked for a position teaching in the correspondence division. There they told me that they would have nothing to do with me, and that anyway my belonging to Group A of Higher Education prevented me from being used.

As regards my union, the SNESup (a leftist union) did not delay in showing me the door without letting me be heard in any way. I belonged to the SNES and to the SNESup for more than 20 years.

I won't mention the threatening letters, the anonymous telephone calls, the times that I was spat upon, the minor problems. I must admit that I feel like a hunted animal, and that I have often wanted to be done with my life. I do not know whether I will survive much longer what is happening to me and to my loved ones. But I feel myself torn by the duty to struggle against such horrible lies and so much cowardice.

If I must struggle in this way, with the bit between my teeth, it is also for all those who have supported me up to now. First, those of the Vieille Taupe publishing house, and then all those strangers in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, Australia, and other places as well, who collect protests and manifestos.

56. On page 288, Vidal-Naquet writes:

> Noam Chomsky, in a letter of 6 December 1980 to Jean-Pierre Faye, retracted, if not his text (appearing as a preface to my *Mémoire en défense*), then at least the use which had been made of it, without his agreement, as the preface to a book by Robert Faurisson.

Response: That is quite simply false.

That letter was written, but its content has been seriously misrepresented.

One comment by way of conclusion:

Vidal-Naquet spreads the idea, even in court, that he is convinced that I am an anti-Semite.

I will share a secret with you. When I hear talk about the Jewish question, I fall asleep. I understand that such indifference on this matter might offend the people who see anti-Semites everywhere, as others see Jews everywhere—but I demand the right to be indifferent on that point and on several others.

NOTES

1. In section 10 I wrote: "(. . .) concentration camps are a modern invention that we owe not to the British in their war against the Boers, but to the Americans during their Civil War" and I went on to mention "the horrors of Andersonville." Recently Mr. Mitchell A. Abidor (from Brooklyn, NY), reading the French version, noticed my mistake and reminded me that Andersonville had not been a "concentration camp" but a camp for prisoners of war. He is right. I should have mentioned instead Mark Weber's article: "The Civil War Concentration Camps," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1981, p. 137-153 in which we read *inter alia*:

> In addition to camps for captured soldiers, the North also established concentration camps for civilian populations considered hostile to the Federal government. Union General Thomas Ewing issued his infamous Order Number 11 in August 1863, whereby large numbers of civilians in Missouri were relocated into what were called "posts."
>
> In *Plain Speaking*, "An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman," the former president tells what happened:

> Everybody, almost the entire population of Jackson County and Vernon and Cass and Bates counties, all of them were depopulated, and the people had to stay in posts.
>
> They called them posts, but what they were, they were concentration camps. And most of the people were moved in such a hurry that they had to leave all their goods and their chattels in their houses. Then the Federal soldiers came in and took everything that was left and set fire to the houses.
>
> That didn't go down very well with the people in these parts; putting people in concentration camps in particular didn't. (pp. 78-79)

President Truman's grandmother loaded what belongings she could into an oxcart and, with six of her children, among them the President's mother, made the journey to a "post" in Kansas City. Martha Ellen Truman vividly remembered that trek until she died at the age of 94 [p. 143].

2. In my introduction and in Section 13 of my "Response . . . ," I mentioned Ms. Nadine Fresco and her attempt to answer the Revisionists' arguments. Recently, in December 1985, she was quoted by Michael May in an article against the Revisionists: "Denying the holocaust/The background, methods and motives of the 'revisionists,'" *Index on Censorship* (London), December, 1985, p. 29-33. Below is what Michael May said against me and what I answered him.

> Nadine Fresco in her admirable article "The Denial of the Dead" (*Dissent*, Fall, 1981) relates the following discovery about perhaps the most meticulous and dedicated of the 'revisionists', Robert Faurisson, in his treatment of the diary of the Auschwitz doctor Kremer, an important document.
>
> 'In his letter to *Le Monde* on January 16, 1979, Faurisson cites the diary that Johann-Paul Kremer, SS doctor, kept during his tenure at Auschwitz. Kremer recounts, on October 18, 1942 that, for the eleventh time, he was present at a "special action" (*Sonderaktion*). Faurisson, who can't be had and who, like no one else, knows how to decipher a text, decides that this "special action", which the exterminationists [the deniers' name for the established historians] insist on taking for a mass gassing, refers very simply to the executions of those condemned to death. He writes, "Among those condemned are three women who arrived in a convoy from Holland; they are shot". This sentence is accompanied by a very impressive note that indicates the seriousness of Faurisson's work. The note consists of a biographical reference: "'Auschwitz as Seen by the SS', published by the Museum of Oswiecim [the Polish name for Auschwitz], 1974, p. 238, note 85".
>
> 'Can one imagine a more scrupulous concern for reference, precision, and scientific rigor? But then perhaps Faurisson thinks it would be rather surprising if readers of *Le Monde* had access to such a book, published so far from France and

> behind the Iron Curtain. Unfortunately for Faurisson, I have the book. And note 85 on page 238, which reports the official transcript of Kremer's testimony in 1947, indeed indicates that three Dutch women were shot on that day. But the text of the note to which Faurisson refers reads: "At the time of the special action which I described in my diary on October 18, 1942, three Dutch women *refused to enter the gas chamber* [emphasis mine] and pleaded for their lives. They were young women, in good health, but despite this their prayer was not granted and the SS who participated in the action shot them on the spot.'"
>
> So there were gas chambers and people were put in them—and Faurisson relies on the very testimony which shows this. But he conceals all mention of gas chambers. The truth is not his goal . . .
>
> At the time of the Faurisson affair, thirty-four of France's leading historians issued a declaration in *Le Monde* attesting to the historical truth of the Holocaust and protesting the Nazi attempt to erase the past. They concluded:
>
> 'Everyone is free to interpret a phenomenon like the Hitlerite genocide according to his own philosophy. Everyone is free to compare it with other enterprises of murder committed earlier, at the same time, later. Everyone is free to offer such or such kind of explanation; everyone is free, to the limit, to imagine or to dream that these monstrous deeds did not take place. Unfortunately they did take place and no one can deny their existence without committing an outrage on the truth. It is not necessary to ask how *technically* such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible, seeing that it took place. That is the required point of departure of every historical inquiry on this subject. This truth it behooves us to remember in simple terms: there is not and there cannot be a debate about the existence of the gas chambers.' (*Le Monde*, Feb 21, 1979)

Letter to the Editor, *Index on Censorship* (for publication)

Subject: Michael May, "Denying the Holocaust" (*Index on Censorship*, December 1985, pp. 29-33)

My name is Robert Faurisson. I am a professor at the University of Lyon-2, in France. I have said and I still maintain that there was never a single homicidal gas chamber in the German concentration camps prior to or during World War II. I have arrived at that conclusion, as have many Revisionists, at the end of a very long investigation and I have expressed that conclusion in books, articles, and one videotape presentation. In my response to Michael May's article, I will refer only to two books: Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Le dossier de l'Affaire Faurisson, La question des chambres à gaz), Paris, La Vieille Taupe Publishing Co., April 1980, 352 pages; Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* (La question des chambres à gaz), with a preface by Noam Chomsky, same publisher, November 1980, xxiv + 280 pages.

Michael May, on the other hand, believes that the gas chambers did exist. In his article he mentions a French woman, Madame Nadine Fresco, who has fought vigorously against the Revisionist thesis and, in particular, against my own publications in *Le Monde* ("Le problème des chambres à gaz/La rumeur d'Auschwitz," 29 December 1978, p. 8, and "Une lettre de M. Faurisson," 16 January 1979, p. 13) as well as against Serge Thion's book.

Nadine Fresco criticized us in a fierce and mocking way in a long article in *Les Temps Modernes* (the magazine of Jean-Paul Sartre and of Claude Lanzmann, famous later as the director of the film *Shoah*). Her article was entitled: "Les redresseurs de morts/Chambres à gaz: la bonne nouvelle/Comment on révise l'histoire" (*Les Temps Modernes*, June 1980, pp. 2150-2211).

Michael May does not refer to that article but rather to an English text: "The Denial of the Dead" (*Dissent*, Fall 1981), which, judging from the excerpt that he has cited, could be either a translation or an adaptation of the *Temps Modernes* article. He describes that article as "admirable," especially since Ms. Fresco supposedly shows what kind of trick I used to hide from *Le Monde's* readers the existence of an "important document": the testimony of Professor Johann-Paul Kremer about the gassings at Auschwitz.

Unfortunately for Nadine Fresco and Michael May, I, far from having hidden that testimony from anyone, have often mentioned it and, noting the interest that has been shown in it by those who sued me for "falsification of history," have devoted numerous pages to it for some time. Here I will limit myself to listing only the five occasions on which I talked about that testimony, a date approximately one year before Nadine Fresco in *Dissent*, in spite of so many warnings, went on to repeat and to persist in her initial serious mistake.

Here are the five dates on which I talked about the testimony that Johann-Paul Kremer made to his Polish Communist jailers:

(1) On 16 January 1979, in the same letter to *Le Monde* in which Ms. Fresco said that I had concealed Kremer's testimony from my readers, I expressly mentioned "'the testimony' (in quotes) after the war by J.-P. Kremer" and the context clearly shows that it was testimony about the alleged gassings (that letter is reproduced in my *Mémoire*, pp. 84-88);

(2) On 26 February 1979, in a text sent to *Le Monde* in connection with my "right to reply" to Georges Wellers, I referred to the testimony and its content (that text is reproduced in my *Mémoire*, pp. 96-100);

(3) In April of 1980 Serge Thion announced on page 338 of his book that I was soon going to publish a *Mémoire* in which I would deal, among other items, with the question of Kremer's testimony;

(4) In June of 1980 Nadine Fresco published her article in *Les Temps Modernes*; it mentioned me 150 times. In accordance with my legal "right of reply," I sent a response to her article. In it I pointed out, among other items, that it was wrong for Ms. Fresco, repeating Georges Wellers's error, to reproach me for having been silent about the testimony of J.-P. Kremer; I told her that *Le Monde* had refused to publish my response to Wellers and I made it clear that I was soon going to publish a *Mémoire* in which I would once more talk about J.-P. Kremer (a photograph of *Le Monde's* refusal letter is included in my *Mémoire*, p. 101);

(5) In November of 1980 the *Mémoire* that had twice been announced to Ms. Fresco appeared; in it I reproduced in facsimile 20 pages of the Communist publication in whose footnotes are found fragments of Kremer's confession. And I had no trouble in showing the vagueness and the absurdity of that testimony, which is also quite typical of Stalinist trials.

I will therefore make the following remarks about that whole affair and about Michael May's article:

(1) It is astonishing that I have been accused in this way of hiding something that I had myself taken the initiative to point out. Georges Wellers was the first one to make this false accusation. The others have only repeated what he said. They have been, first of all, the group of nine organizations which sued me; then Nadine Fresco, and today Michael May. They have not been able to respond to the scholarly arguments of the revisionists and instead have leaped at the first accusation that occurred to them. And, lacking anything better to say, they have persisted in their error;

(2) Those who defend the thesis about the existence of the gas chambers are amateurish. We have an example of that amateurishness in Nadine Fresco: in my letter to *Le Monde* I said that three women coming from the Netherlands had been shot rather than gassed at Auschwitz; as my source I gave a classic book, a special issue of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (*Auschwitz Notebooks*) published by the very official State Museum of Auschwitz; this special issue was also in French, and I gave the exact citation in the French version. What did Ms. Fresco do about that? She deduced from it that this was a trick on my part and that, having

done that, I counted on the fact that no reader of *Le Monde* would take the trouble to verify the reference to a work "published so far from France and behind the Iron Curtain." Could Ms. Fresco find anyone who, writing as a specialist about Auschwitz, would be unaware of the existence of the *Hefte von Auschwitz*?

(3) Do we know of very many Communist-conducted trials that have *not* had confessions by the accused?

(4) Michael May wrote his article in a publication called *Index on Censorship*. I therefore supposed that he is opposed to censorship. In this whole affair there have been two examples of censorship: first by *Le Monde*, then by *Les Temps Modernes*. In both cases they prevented me from reminding the public that I had indeed mentioned the Kremer testimony and that I even knew the subject very well. The result was that Nadine Fresco thought she could repeat a baseless accusation that is today coming back to haunt her. Therefore, it seems that it is, at least sometimes, unwise to censor things.

(5) Michael May ends his article with the final excerpt from the declaration by 34 French historians who, in February 1979, published a text protesting against my denial of the existence of the gas chambers. He talks about "thirty-four of France's leading historians." He fails to mention that not one of those historians, except Léon Poliakov, was a specialist in the period under consideration; they included Egyptologists, Hellenists, specialists in the 16th or the 18th centuries, specialists in the study of customs or of societies, etc. In France today people still laugh at that declaration which seems to please Michael May; here is how it concluded:

> "It is not necessary to ask how *technically* such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible, seeing that it took place. That is the required point of departure of every inquiry on this subject. This truth it behooves us to remember in simple terms: there is not and there cannot be a debate about the existence of the gas chambers" (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, p. 23).

This kind of reasoning is an example of a rhetorical construction known as "tautology." And it raises three questions: Apart from the alleged mass murder of Jews by the Nazis, what other mass murder in history could a historian research without having to ask himself how "technically" it was carried out?

You say that there *cannot* be any debate about the existence of the gas chambers; does that mean that if there is actually such a debate it is necessary to forbid it—for example, by means of censorship or law suits?

Supposing for a moment that the gas chambers were actually nothing more than a wartime rumor turned into an historic lie. Should we call it that or cover it up? In this case what, in your opinion, should a scholar do?

3. In section 28 I wrote: "A thesis is presently being prepared which will expose the Gerstein 'confessions' and what Léon Poliakov has made of them." The viva voce of this thesis was on 15 June 1985. Its author, Mr. Henri Roques, received his Ph.D. (*doctorat d'Université*) with distinction from the University of Nantes. This long and very technical thesis will be mimeographed in February, 1986. The conclusions are humiliating for Léon Poliakov. Quite recently, in November 1985, Carlo Mattogno published *Il Rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un Falso/Il "campo di sterminio" di Belzec* (*The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud/The Extermination Camp at Belzec*), ed. Sentinella d'Italia (Via Buonarotti 4, Monfalcone, Italy), 243 p., 15,000 lire. His findings are the same as Dr. Roques' findings.*

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*See Robert Hall's review in this month's *Journal*.

The German Delousing Chambers

FRIEDRICH PAUL BERG

Today at the former German concentration camp at Dachau, it is no longer claimed that Jews or anyone else were ever killed in the gas chamber there. In the room that is supposedly a gas chamber, one can clearly read a sign written by the museum authorities in five languages which says, "THE GAS CHAMBER disguised as a 'shower room'—never used as a gas chamber."[1] Although the room was completed in 1942, it was never used for its intended purpose—presumably, it was used for other purposes; perhaps it was used as a shower room after all.

At the western end of the crematorium building which houses the so-called gas chamber "disguised as a shower room," one can today see and walk through four delousing chambers which were used to fumigate clothing.[2] The only explanation regarding these chambers is a sign above them, also in five languages, which simply says "Fumigation cubicles" in English and *Desinfektionskammern* in German. There is no mention anywhere within the camp of the important fact that these chambers used Zyklon-B to fumigate clothing as well as other articles placed within the chambers.

The "shower room" is not a gas chamber at all, but the so-called "fumigation cubicles" are gas chambers. Moreover, the "fumigation cubicles" are extremely well-designed gas chambers which represented, and may still represent, the state of the art in gas chamber design. They were the product of more than 20 years of research and development into the application of hydrocyanic acid (often referred

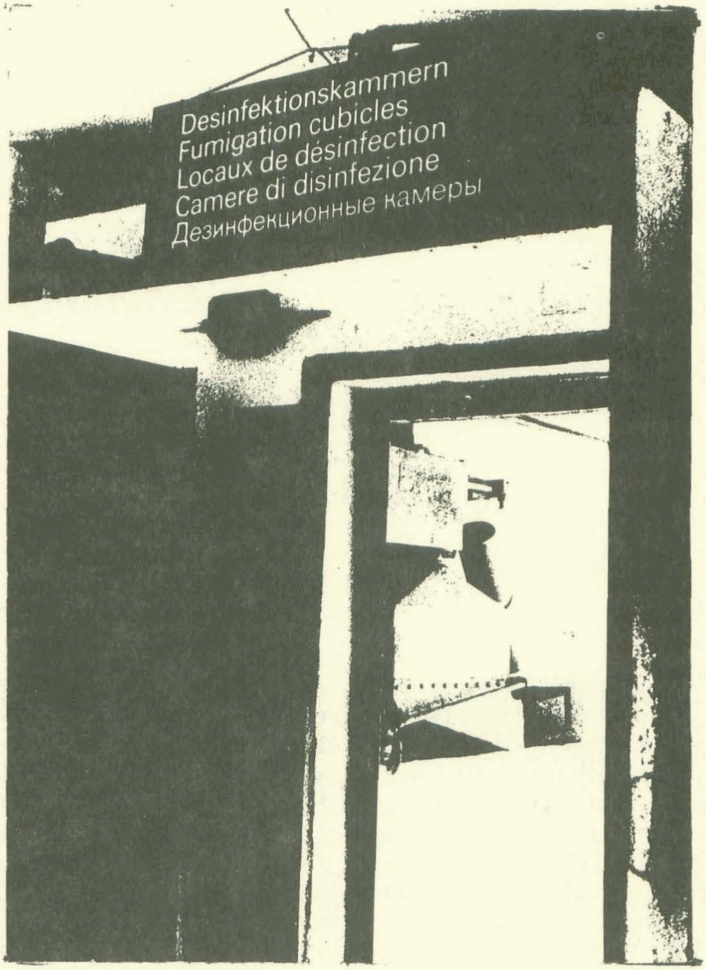

Desinfektionskammern
Fumigation cubicles
Locaux de désinfection
Camere di disinfezione
Дезинфекционные камеры

Figure 1: One of the four delousing chambers as it can be seen today in Dachau. (Note the heater, wire-mesh basket and other equipment visible through the open doorway.)

to simply as cyanide) for the extermination of vermin. This is clearly shown by the extensive German technical literature from the end of World War I through World War II on this subject.[3]

The delousing chambers at Dachau were far superior in design to the gas chambers which are still used in this country for the execution of criminals. As a consequence of their design, the operating procedures for the delousing chambers at Dachau were quite simple; for example, although gas masks had to be available, the operators were only required to use them in emergencies or in special situations. By contrast, the American gas chambers for executions still require the use of gas masks during the normal post-execution procedures. Compared to the American gas chambers, the German delousing chambers at Dachau were also safer to operate and far less expensive to construct.[4]

At the end of this article I have added a translation of one of the many articles that can be found in the German wartime technical and medical literature discussing the proper use of Zyklon-B for the control of typhus through the extermination of its principal carrier, the body louse. (See appendix.) The article by Emil Wüstinger is especially important because of the numbers it gives to show the extent to which the Zyklon-B delousing technology was actually used by the Germans to save people from the ravages of typhus. According to Wüstinger, 25 million people had already had their clothing and personal belongings fumigated from the start of the war until the beginning of 1944. This number is, interestingly enough, the same as the one which appears in the Gerstein statement as the number of people who had been "killed" in gas chambers.

The delousing chamber represented by the drawing in Wüstinger's article is the standard ten-cubic-meter model which seems to have been used most often. It is essentially identical to the four chambers—"fumigation cubicles"—that one can still see today in the Dachau crematorium building. Even the interior dimensions are the same: The interior length is four meters, the interior height is 1.9 meters and the interior width is 1.35 meters, which gives a total interior volume of about ten cubic meters. The only significant difference between the delousing chamber portrayed in the drawing and the four chambers that one can still see in Dachau is that the cutouts in the walls containing some of the circulatory system apparatus are in the upper left corners of the chambers instead of in the lower left corners. The blowers above each chamber, a separate blower for each chamber, are no longer present although most of the piping, including the vent piping, remains.

The blowers, in effect, drove the entire fumigation process. Initially, each blower would accelerate the evaporation of hydrocyanic acid out of the porous Zyklon-B granules placed inside the chamber by forcing warm air through the granules and then circulating the resulting air and hydrocyanic acid gas mixture throughout all of the clothing and articles within the chamber. Finally, each blower force-vented the lethal gas mixture out of the chamber up a vent pipe through the roof to atmosphere and replaced the lethal gas with fresh air so that the chamber doors could be opened without endangering the operator.

Each chamber was designed so that it would normally be operated without the operator having to wear a gas mask except in an emergency. According to Dr. Gerhard Peters, writing in 1940 about the recently perfected gas chamber design:

> Last but not least, it is an essential requirement that the operating personnel not come into direct contact with the hydrocyanic acid and also not be hindered unnecessarily with gas masks. The new design therefore provides that the entire process and even the venting occur behind closed doors; the equipment can be controlled from outside *without anti-gas protection* (*ohne Gasschutz*) since the hydrocyanic acid container is opened automatically only within the chamber. (Gas masks need only be available for special situations.) [emphasis as in the original][5]
>
> The most significant feature of these designs is that a chamber so equipped for generating the gas and for controlling circulation can be operated *without anti-gas protection. Thanks to the special arrangement of the equipment, one can ventilate with the doors closed,* which can be regarded as an especially great advantage . . . [emphasis as in the original]
>
> Without doubt this design has had the greatest significance on the mass application of hydrocyanic acid fumigation facilities for mass delousing since it is only with such installations that dependable results can be achieved in unusually short periods (1 hour treatment).[6]

An accurate explanation of the role of the delousing chambers with their blowers would, no doubt, have caused many visitors to wonder why the Germans never used these devices for mass-murder. Each of the four delousing chambers had an interior floor space of 5.4 square meters and certainly could have been used to kill several dozen people at a time. And yet such an application for these chambers has never been alleged. One problem would have been that some of the circulatory system apparatus—including the four-way valve, the can-opener and the heater— is exposed to the interior and could have been damaged quite easily by anyone trapped inside. This apparatus could, however, have been shielded by some kind of metal grill—but there is no evidence that any such shielding was ever present.

The four delousing chambers could have been adapted for mass-extermination in another way which would have been obvious to many visitors. Instead of blowing the hydrocyanic acid vapors to atmosphere through the vent pipe at the end of a typical fumigation cycle, the same gas could have been blown through another pipe into the "shower room" located approximately in the middle of the same building about 60 feet away. As soon as a sufficiently lethal concentration of cyanide vapors had been attained inside the "shower room," the blowers could have been shut down for as long as needed, several minutes would probably have been enough, to allow the gas to kill its victims. Afterwards, the blowers could have been restarted to ventilate the shower room by blowing fresh air into the room. Such a method would have worked, although for reasons which will be given later on, the arrangement would have been far more effective if it included some piping or ductwork to circulate the air-gas mixture. Ideally, some vent piping should have also been provided for the shower room so as to cause the potentially lethal gas to be discharged above the roof of the building instead of into the surroundings near ground level.

Wüstinger's article also discusses the advantages of hydrocyanic acid gas chambers over delousing chambers which used hot air. The hot air method and a steam method (not discussed in the article) both relied on high temperature to kill lice and other vermin. Both methods were somewhat safer since they did not involve the use of a poisonous substance. However, both of these alternatives had other problems. If a high enough temperature was not maintained long enough, particularly in the center of the chamber, which would have been insulated somewhat by the presence of a load of clothing, the delousing procedure would not have been effective. In addition, maintaining a high temperature within a chamber meant that the chamber had to be far better insulated and for this reason required a heavier, more expensive structure. A great deal of precious fuel also had to be consumed in order to generate the necessary heat. High temperatures tended to damage leather goods, foods, and some types of equipment which required fumigation from time to time.

The high temperature approach, whether it involved steam or hot air, was used more often in Eastern regions occupied by the Germans. This was because of the shortage of the trained specialists which were needed whenever one worked with Zyklon-B. The Zyklon method was generally employed within the Reich itself.

Zyklon-B

Until the introduction of DDT by the Americans and by the Germans in 1944, the delousing of not only clothing but also living quarters, especially barracks, and railroad trains in order to kill body lice was the only effective means of controlling the spread of typhus. Until the arrival of DDT, the most effective pesticide for killing body lice, i.e., for delousing, was Zyklon-B.

When Exterminationists claim, as Raul Hilberg did in *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961 edition, pp. 565-67) that Zyklon-B was simply the commercial name for prussic acid (hydrocyanic acid is the chemical term generally used for prussic acid), or that it was hydrogen cyanide solidified in pellets which passed "immediately" into the gaseous state upon being dropped into a gas chamber, they merely show that they have no idea as to what their great murder weapon really was.

Zyklon-B was, and still is, essentially a porous material with liquid hydrocyanic acid absorbed into it with a small amount of chemical stabilizer and warning ingredient added.[7] The absorbent material was generally diatomaceous earth but paper discs were also used, especially in the United States. After the hydrocyanic acid had completely evaporated, the porous material—now completely harmless—could be returned to a Zyklon dealer and refilled.

The speed with which hydrocyanic acid evaporates out of the Zyklon granules or paper discs is not instantaneous. Although the hydrocyanic acid does immediately begin to leave the porous material as soon as a can of Zyklon-B is opened, that does not mean it leaves all at once. On the contrary, it still takes about half an hour for most of the cyanide to leave under normal conditions and under normal room temperature, about 68° F. Even more time is needed for all the cyanide to leave the granules.

According to Dr. Gerhard Peters, who was the managing director of DEGESCH and who from the early 1930's through World War II was probably the most prolific advocate of Zyklon-B:[8]

> . . . As a general rule, the material is spread out in a layer which is ½ to 1 cm thick, after which most of the hydrocyanic acid has already evolved after half an hour.[9]

Although the process begins immediately, it is nonetheless a gradual process. It can be speeded up by dispersing the granules in thinner layers or by using smaller granules to begin with or—what is most important in order to understand how the standard delousing chambers worked—by forcing air through the granules and/or by the addition of heat.

The importance of heat not only to prevent condensation during the venting of a cyanide gas chamber but also during the gassing phase itself is evident from the very title of a German patent which was granted to DEGESCH in 1940. The title of patent no. 700469 which took effect retroactively on July 26, 1934 reads:

> Method for generating the *necessary heat* for the vaporization of poisonous substances for gases used for pest control [emphasis added]

The text of the patent explains at some length the need for heating in order to accelerate the release of fumigating gases such as hydrocyanic acid. The patent includes a schematic drawing showing the same circulatory equipment arrangement which was probably used in all of the standard DEGESCH gas chambers.

The importance of heat to the venting process is spelled out in the following text from Peters and Wüstinger.

> . . . As a consequence of the extensive preheating of the fresh air entering at D, the venting of the chamber is completed in 10 to 15 minutes. The carts can then be driven out and the articles of clothing can be immediately returned to their owners who in the meantime have had their bodies deloused.[10]

The Fumigation Cycle in the German Delousing Chambers

The fumigation cycle consisted of two phases: (1) a circulation (*Kreislauf*) phase, known in non-technical jargon simply as the "gassing" phase, and (2) a venting (*Lüftung*) phase.[11] Switching from one phase to the other was accomplished by simply turning a crank handle 180 degrees on the outside of the chamber. The crank handle was linked to a special four-way valve located on the inside of the chamber (see figure 1 in the translation of the article by Emil Wüstinger).

The circulation phase lasted about an hour and the ventilation phase lasted at least fifteen minutes. In practice, however, it seems to have taken longer. There is, for example, a well-known photograph of an American soldier in Dachau looking at one of the delousing chamber doors upon which there is a notice in German which says that the fumigation time (*Gaszeit*) was from 7:30 until at least 10.[12]

To start the delousing process, a can of Zyklon-B inside the chamber was opened from outside the chamber by means of the specially designed can-opener with the chamber doors shut. Once the can was opened, the next step was to turn the crank handle on the outside of the chamber 180 degrees to the "Kreislauf" (circulation) position which in turn caused the Zyklon-B can inside the chamber to be turned upside down, thereby dumping the Zyklon-B granules through a chute into a wire-mesh basket. Meanwhile, air was circulated by the blower through a closed loop which consisted of the chamber itself as well as the four-way valve, the basket and a heater. The air was heated before it passed through the granules in the basket. The heated air drove the hydrocyanic acid out of the granules so that the circulating air became mixed with an increasingly lethal dosage of cyanide. The resulting lethal gas mixture was circulated throughout the chamber—hence the name: "circulatory gas chamber"—to insure thorough penetration into all possible hiding places within the clothing and articles being fumigated.

After at least an hour, the operator could begin the venting phase by turning the crank handle 180 degrees to the "Lüftung" (venting) position. The blower continued to operate as before. The four-way valve would now allow fresh air to be drawn into the chamber from the opening surrounding the crank handle stem in the outside wall of the chamber. As the fresh air passed through the valve and then the heater, it was heated above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid, which is 78.6° F.[13] The warm air then continued on through the Zyklon-B granules in the basket and drove any remaining traces of hydrocyanic acid out of the granules. The air then entered the chamber as a whole and eventually left the chamber from an opening at the extreme end of the opposite side of the chamber, returned to the blower, and then went down into the four-way valve once again, but this time instead of going around again in a closed loop, the gas mixture was directed up the vent pipe by the four-way valve and discharged into the atmosphere. The gas mixture was discharged high enough so that the otherwise lethal gas was so diluted by fresh air that people in the vicinity were not affected. In the process, the temperature of the entire chamber, including the chamber walls, was raised above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid in order to prevent any subsequent condensation of the cyanide vapors either in the clothing, in any other articles, or on the walls. The walls, floor and ceiling were specially coated to minimize absorption of cyanide into the structure itself.

One final step which was sometimes stressed in the German technical literature was that the articles that had been fumigated still should be aired in the open for at least five minutes before they were returned to their owners.

The Circulation Principle (*Kreislaufprinzip*)

The importance of good circulation to the proper operation of the German delousing chambers cannot be overemphasized. In the German literature, especially the material from the DEGESCH company itself, circulation of the air-cyanide mixture was always and still is emphasized as a major feature of all of the standardized gas chambers and of good gas chamber design in general.

As recently as 1979, the DEGESCH company was still promoting its own design of fumigation chambers for Zyklon-B with the following information in English:

> Whether the fumigation chamber is a permanent installation or mobile, a *DEGESCH circulatory device* makes it possible to operate safely and quickly, and ensures success. [emphasis added]
>
> Mobile fumigation chambers are of great advantage: As they can be attached to any tractor or lorry, their possibilities for use are almost unlimited. They are economical in price and running. The standard sizes are 2 m^3, and 20 m^3, other sizes can be constructed according to special requirements.
>
> Stationary chambers are made from steel, bricks or concrete. If constructed from bricks or concrete they must be sealed by applying a suitable coating.
>
> Neither service personnel nor unauthorized persons come into contact with the gas; one person alone can operate the fumigation chamber; a gas-mask need not be worn. *The gas-air-mixture is circulated, thus accelerating penetration and reducing exposure time.* [emphasis added] After treatment, the gas can be cleared quickly and safely.[14]

The terminology "DEGESCH circulatory device" was used to identify the mechanical equipment such as the four-way valve, heater, can-opener and blower which DEGESCH sold.[15] The structure—walls, floor and ceiling—without the mechanical equipment seems to have generally been built by the customer himself or by an independent contractor.

Zyklon-B and cyanide do not have magic properties. The cyanide does not hunt down living creatures "like radar" as has been advertised for at least one currently popular insecticide. On the contrary, cyanide must obey the same laws of nature that steam or hot air have to obey in a similar situation. The advantage cyanide has as far as its distribution is concerned is due primarily to its low boiling point and its small molecular size. Although cyanide does indeed have great penetrating power, the penetrating rate is severely reduced by obstructions such as clothing unless those obstructions are overcome by some

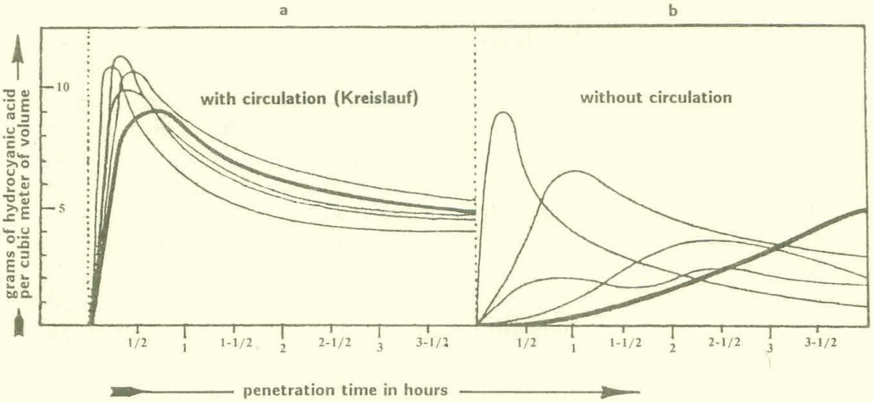


Figure 2: Development and distribution of the gas concentration in a filled gas chamber with and without circulation

a. with circulation, i.e., with exchange of the air-gas mixture,
b. without circulation, the gas must find its own path.

(the heavy lines represent concentrations in the center of the chamber while the other lines represent concentrations in various corners of the chamber.)(original source: DEGESCH)[16]

means such as forced circulation through a well-designed chamber with good flow patterns for the gas.

Figure 2 shows just how essential good circulation is to the design of an effective gas chamber. It was apparently based upon careful tests in which cyanide concentrations in various parts of a standard gas chamber were measured over at least two separate, three hour periods. One group of tests was made with the blower operating and with the four-way valve in the "circulation" position. The second group of tests was made with the blower idle.

The test results in figure 2 are not at all surprising. They are generally just about what common sense would tell us to expect. It is a pleasant surprise, however, to be able to see the importance of proper circulation illustrated so clearly. The test results were obviously published first by DEGESCH and then by others in order to re-emphasize the importance of circulation as clearly as possible.

With circulation, the cyanide levels are relatively high and uniform throughout the chamber within about one hour. Without circulation, the cyanide levels are relatively high after one hour in only one corner, presumably the corner nearest to the basket with the Zyklon-B granules. Without circulation, comparable cyanide levels are achieved in the center of the filled chamber only after three hours; after only one hour, the gas hardly penetrated at all to the center of the chamber.

The emphasis upon circulation or *Kreislauf*, not only in the DEGESCH literature but also in countless articles in the German wartime literature on Zyklon-B and delousing, is apparent even in the terminology: *Kreislaufkammer*, *Kreislaufanordnung*, *Kreislaufapparatur*, *Kreislaufleitung*, *Kreislaufgeräte*, *Kreislaufanlagen*, *Kreislaufprinzip*, etc. But even more than that, the front of each DEGESCH circulatory chamber was usually marked with the word *Kreislauf* to identify one of the two positions of the four-way valve. The operating phase during which cyanide was applied during the two-phase fumigation cycle was known as the *Kreislauf* phase. The point is that it would have been impossible to have any expertise at all in the use of cyanide and/or Zyklon-B without being well aware of the advantages of proper circulation for any application of this technology. How then could any would-be mass murderers have possibly been unaware of the need for circulation in their cyanide gas chambers for mass-murder? How could they have been oblivious to the significance of *Kreislauf*? And yet, they must have been oblivious—that is precisely what must have happened if one is to take the "Holocaust" literature at all seriously.

In any event, the would-be mass murderers—even if they had been totally illiterate amateurs, wholly ignorant of the importance of circulation—would have seen that something was seriously wrong with their method after one or more botched attempts at exterminating people with cyanide in chambers without circulation.

Hydrocyanic Acid Gas Chambers for Mass-Murder?

Although the murder weapon is the focus of a great deal of investigation and analysis in any ordinary murder case, alas, when one is dealing with the "Holocaust" story one finds nothing comparable regarding what were supposedly the greatest murder weapons in history.

In the main camp of the Auschwitz concentration camp complex, a gas chamber was supposedly used until the end of 1942 to murder about 76,000 people. That room can be visited today in its "reconstructed state." In design and appearance it is nothing more than a dreary cellar, just like most cellars, except for some holes in the ceiling.[17] Zyklon-B granules were supposedly dumped through these holes into the chamber where they would have fallen upon the heads and among the feet of the intended victims. The room is separated only by a door from another room containing crematorium ovens and has no ventilating equipment at all. For these reasons as well as for others which are beyond the scope of this article, many of which have however been given in the past by Dr. Robert Faurisson and Ditlieb Felderer, the claim that this room was a gas chamber for mass murder is pure rubbish.

Probably the most plausible description of a gas chamber using cyanide for mass murder is the following description from Filip Müller of the cellar in Krematorium 2 in Auschwitz-Birkenau in which 3,000 people were supposedly killed at a time:

> We left the mortuary and came to a huge iron-mounted wooden door; it was not locked. We entered a place which was in total darkness. As we switched on the light, the room was lit by bulbs enclosed in a protective wire cage. We were standing in a large oblong room measuring about 250 square meters. Its unusually low ceiling and walls were whitewashed. Down the length of the room concrete pillars supported the ceiling. However, not all the pillars served this purpose: for there were others, too. The Zyclon B gas crystals [sic] were inserted through openings into hollow pillars made of sheet metal. They were perforated at regular intervals and inside them a spiral ran from top to bottom in order to ensure as even a distribution of the granular crystals as possible. Mounted on the ceiling was a large number of dummy showers made of metal. These were intended to delude the suspicious on entering the gas chamber into believing that they were in a shower-room. A ventilating plant was installed in the wall; this was switched on immediately after each gassing to disperse the gas and expedite the removal of corpses.[18]

Although a "ventilation plant" is mentioned by Müller, that does not mean there was anything even remotely comparable to the kind of ventilation and circulation which would have been needed.

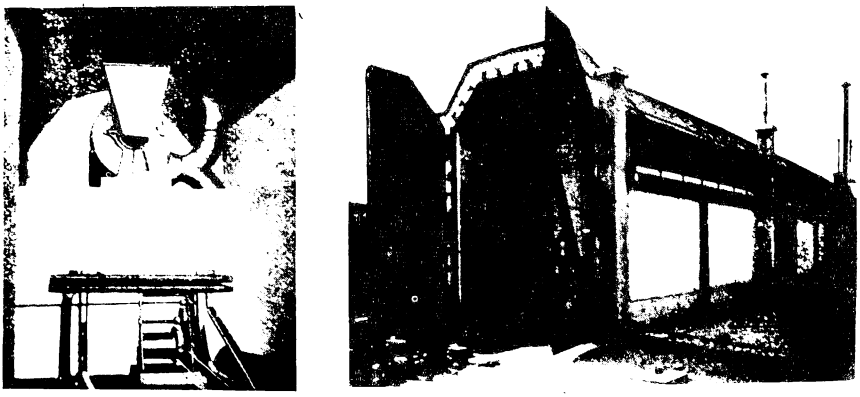
According to Müller, the "Zyclon B gas crystals"[19] were dropped, presumably from the outside of the chamber, into hollow perforated pillars with spirals. The Zyklon granules (not crystals at all) would have slid down the spirals to the bottom of the pillars.

The ventilation plant was supposedly "switched on immediately *after* each gassing." [emphasis added] In other words, during the gassing itself, the ventilation plant must have been off; there could have been no circulation of the air-gas mixture through the gas chamber during the gassing itself.

Although cyanide vapors would have gradually left the granules, their path would have been obstructed first by the "perforated" sheet metal pillars and then by those intended victims who were crammed into the spaces around the pillars. If one takes at all seriously the accounts of three thousand victims being killed at a time, the perforated pillars would have been surrounded rather tightly by the intended victims. Those who were in the immediate vicinity of the pillars would have probably been affected by the cyanide in just a few minutes but—on the basis of figure 2—many, if not most, of the others would have been unaffected by the cyanide until hours later.

But let us give the benefit of doubt to the Exterminationists for the sake of this analysis. Perhaps Müller was somewhat mistaken and perhaps the "ventilation plant" had been switched on during the actual gassing. What then?

Even if the ventilation plant had been switched on during the gassing phase, there is no evidence that the necessary piping or ductwork was present to permit proper circulation. On the contrary, the bottom of each "perforated" pillar would have been, in effect, a *cul-de-sac* through which there could not possibly have been the kind of air or gas flow which circulated through the wire-mesh baskets in the stan-



circulation and venting arrangement of a 400 cubic meter railroad disinfestation chamber

railroad fumigation chamber of the state railways in Budapest

(at the far end one can see the equipment room for the circulation and ventilation apparatus)

Figure 3: Railroad delousing tunnels.[22]

dard delousing chambers even if there had been some provision for returning the ventilation plant discharge back to the gas chamber through some kind of closed loop arrangement. Any conceivable closed loop could not possibly have included the Zyklon granules themselves since they would have been isolated at the bottoms of the perforated pillars. The evaporation of the cyanide out of the Zyklon-B granules would have taken hours rather than minutes. And yet, according to the so-called confession of Rudolf Höss, the former camp commandant of Auschwitz, the gassing process was so short that after only half an hour the gas chamber doors were opened, the ventilating machinery was turned on, and workers without gas masks immediately began to remove the bodies.

Obviously, the Müller account and the Höss "confession" are nothing more than badly contrived horror stories. The mechanics, reminiscent of Rube Goldberg inventions, may seem plausible at first glance but simply do not stand up to critical examination.

The Railroad Delousing Tunnels

The abundance of Zyklon-B delousing chambers, even within concentration camps, is in itself a major problem for the accepted "Holocaust" story because here were well-designed pilot plants for committing mass-murder on a relatively small scale before attempting to kill on a massive scale; here were the ideal models to follow in order to construct scaled-up versions for mass-murder. Here was the proper technology for mass-murder with cyanide—but this technology, the delousing chamber technology, was supposedly never used for such a purpose.

More surprising is the fact that large, scaled-up versions of the small delousing chambers actually did exist in locations which were far more accessible than any of the so-called extermination camps. Those chambers employed the same circulatory principle and used Zyklon-B to fumigate railroad trains—but, those chambers were never used for mass-murder either.

Larger chambers for fumigating entire railroad trains existed throughout German-occupied Europe in about a dozen different locations including Cologne, Poznan (*Posen*), Potsdam, and Budapest.[20] They had become a standard feature of the railroad network in order to prevent the spread of typhus, particularly from Eastern Europe, where typhus had always been endemic.

The would-be murderers could have simply brought railroad cars filled with Jews into these large chambers, one or two cars at a time, killed the intended victims and then ventilated the cars within just a few hours. Each gassing, including venting of one or two railroad cars, would have still taken at least one-and-a-half hours—far longer than the half-hour which is all that was supposedly needed at Auschwitz according to Höss and others.[21]

By using the railroad delousing tunnels, which ranged in size from about 400 cubic meters to as much as 1700 cubic meters, the mass-murderers would not have had to transport their intended victims halfway across Europe in the midst of a war in which Germany was desperately trying to conserve meager resources such as railroads and fuel.

Typhus

Throughout World War II severe outbreaks of typhus occurred in the German-occupied East. Especially in the last year of the war, with disaster falling upon Europe and with millions of people fleeing to the West from parts of Europe where typhus had always been endemic, Zyklon-B became the great life-saver. Although DDT and some other substances such as the IG Farben product "Lauseto" had become available, the quantities were severely limited by the bombing of German chemical and pharmaceutical plants. Without Zyklon-B carrying on in the role it had established for itself in the early years of the war, the horrible scenes in isolated places such as Bergen-Belsen in the spring of 1945 would have certainly been repeated on a far more spectacular scale. What actually happened was bad enough.

There could have been a repeat of what had happened during and after World War I in Eastern Europe. The situation in Russia during that period had been described by the eminent American medical historian Hans Zinsser as follows:

> . . . Will historians of this period remember that, throughout the struggles which led to the establishment of the Soviet Republic, Russia suffered—in addition to war and armed revolution—from two cholera epidemics, from a famine unequaled since the Thirty Years War, from typhus, malaria, typhoid, dysentery, tuberculosis, and syphilis to an extent unimaginable except to those who were helpless spectators? Tarassewitch estimated (statistics of accuracy were impossible) that between 1917 and 1923 there were 30,000,000 cases of typhus with 3,000,000 deaths in European Russia alone.[23]

The losses in the Ukraine, the Balkans and Poland were probably comparable to those suffered in Russia but the historians have forgotten.

During World War II, the losses in Eastern Europe may have been even worse than those indicated by Zinsser and Tarassewitch for the earlier period. However, the true statistics would not serve the interests of the Soviet Union and for this reason they will probably never be available.

In the West the true statistics are also kept quiet but for a different reason: they would diminish the sense that Jews had been the victims of an extermination policy. The proof of this statement is in the speeches of President Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl and in the news coverage in 1985 regarding Reagan's visit to Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen. At that time, the truth as to what had happened in Bergen-Belsen at the end of the war should have been made public as part of the media coverage which began several months before the visit—but it was not. Although it has long been conceded that the true horrors of Bergen-Belsen had nothing whatever to do with an extermination policy, the President, the media and even the chancellor of West Germany did their best to portray Bergen-Belsen to the general public as proof of an extermination program against the Jews.

There is a substantial body of statistical evidence which shows that during the first two years of the war more than three-fourths of all cases of typhus in Poland occurred among Jews and that the remaining cases arose in large part from contact with Jews.[24] It was on the basis of this evidence that special regulations were introduced to restrict the movement of Jews. The wall around the Jewish Warsaw ghetto was one such measure. A thorough discussion of this subject is, however, beyond the scope of this article. In any event, Jews in concentration camps after 1941 certainly benefited from the presence of the delousing chambers in the camps.

Rather than having been the victims of Zyklon-B in murderous gas chambers, the Jews were probably the principal beneficiaries of Zyklon-B and its proper, life-saving application in well-designed German delousing chambers such as the ones which can still be seen in Dachau.

Conclusions

We have been blinded by our tears of sympathy for the supposed victims. We have been blinded by our tears of shame for deeds which people just like ourselves might have committed. But if we dare to wipe those tears away and look at the "Holocaust" evidence critically with sober heads, we find that there are no grounds for any such tears at all.

The mass-murder technology that was supposedly used to kill millions of people would not have worked. However, a mass-murder technology based upon the hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers would have worked quite well indeed. The SS certainly had an abundance of expertise in this technology since they were employing it themselves, daily, with their own specially trained personnel—and even had their own school for pesticide specialists.[25]

Surely Adolf Eichmann and some of the people around him must have had considerable expertise in railroad transportation. How could they have been unaware of the existence of the railroad delousing tunnels and their potential for mass-murder?

The purpose of the delousing chambers was to save lives—and that is not denied except by the most passionate Exterminationist. No doubt, many hundreds of thousands of people, possibly millions, including countless Jews, owe their lives to these chambers and the German technology based upon Zyklon-B.

How could the same Germans—particularly, the SS and the people from DEGESCH—who used a highly developed technology to kill lice in order to save countless human lives have simultaneously tried to use a pathetically primitive technology, which could not have even worked in the manner alleged, to destroy millions of human lives? How could they have used well-designed gas chambers with circulation to try to save millions of people from typhus while at the same time trying to use badly designed chambers without circulation to kill millions of people? How could they have been using an advanced technology to save people who were in many cases the very same people, namely Jews, that they were simultaneously trying to kill but with the most primitive variations of the same technology?

There are no answers to these reasonable questions even after forty years nor are there ever likely to be any answers consistent with an extermination thesis. In the absence of any proof based upon forensic evidence of even one case of death by gassing with cyanide at the hands of the Germans or of any other reliable evidence—the "evidence," such as it is, consists almost exclusively of "confessions" and fantastic anecdotes of "survivors"—one should reject the "Holocaust" claims as self-serving propaganda. What is clear from any careful technical analysis of the supposed gas chambers for mass extermination is that the "Holocaust" story is absurd.

Appendix

Increased Use of Hydrocyanic Acid Delousing Chambers

Paper given at the Hydrocyanic Acid Conference
of the Labor Committee for Room Disinfestation and
Contagious Disease Prevention of January 27/28, 1944.

by
Emil Wüstinger, engineer
Frankfurt am Main

translated by F.P. Berg and E. Kniepkamp
from *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*,
Vol. 67 (1944) pp. 179-80.

In delousing chambers, for reasons which are easily understood because of their special function, one expects maximum performance with minimum gas concentration and penetration time. A penetration period of only one hour should have the same effect as a 16-, 20-, or 24-hour period during a room disinfestation. This is demanded because of the pressing need to process massive quantities.

Such requirements can only be met successfully, even with the highly effective hydrocyanic acid, when all of the conditions for fumigation are ideal, in other words when the following conditions exist: quickest possible release and distribution of the gas, sufficient air-tightness of the room, good room temperature and proper arrangement of the articles to be fumigated within the chamber. On the basis of its collected experiences with its own fumigation chambers, the German Company for Pest Control, G.m.b.H. [DEGESCH] had already developed years ago special vaporizers (*Vergasergeräte*) and circulatory systems (*Kreislaufanordnungen*) which take into consideration all the requisites: fastest gas generation, best gas penetration and sufficient heating with simultaneous improvement in the ventilation piping.

After the first year of the war, during which a string of hydrocyanic acid facilities had been built in several regions and equipped with DEGESCH circulatory systems for Zyklon hydrocyanic acid [*Zyklon-Blausäure* or, as it is generally abbreviated, Zyklon-B][26], some of which have already been used to delouse hundreds of thousands of pieces of clothing, there arose a significant increase in demand as even government bodies and industrial factories began to take stringent measures to control lice.

The motivation for the increased use of hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers arose primarily from an official government requirement that the large numbers of foreign workers who were being used had to be deloused periodically at prescribed intervals and, therefore, the factories which employed the largest numbers of foreign workers had to build their own delousing facilities.

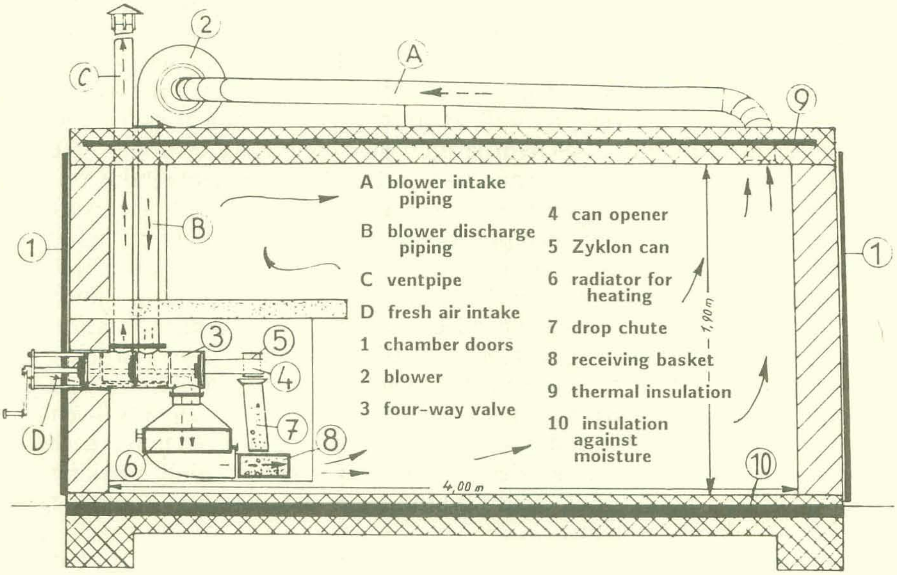

2
A
C
9
B
1
1
3
5
4
D
7
8
6
10
4,00 m
1,90 m
A blower intake piping
B blower discharge piping
C ventpipe
D fresh air intake
1 chamber doors
2 blower
3 four-way valve
4 can opener
5 Zyklon can
6 radiator for heating
7 drop chute
8 receiving basket
9 thermal insulation
10 insulation against moisture

Figure 1: Elevation drawing of a delousing chamber with a DEGESCH circulatory system (*DEGESCH-Kreislaufanordnung*).

This requirement was expanded by the official camp regulation from the Reich Minister of Labor which came into effect in the summer of 1943 regarding camp accommodations for workers for the duration of the war. Article 9 stipulates: "*All rooms must be cleaned daily. The rooms and their inhabitants must be regularly examined for instances of vermin. Proper installations for the extermination of vermin must be available.*" [emphasis added]

Recently there have even been an increasing number of instances where hot air chambers were rebuilt in order to be adapted with hydrocyanic acid circulatory systems. Many other large disinfestation facilities in which only hot air has been used until now are being expanded with hydrocyanic acid chambers in order to fumigate equipment and clothing which could easily be damaged in hot-air chambers—for example, fur and leather goods.

One result of these measures and the favorable judgments about hydrocyanic acid chamber delousing is that there is a steady increase in demand for hydrocyanic acid installations so that in just the last year alone as many installations went into operation as in the first three years of the war put together.

For the entire war until now, at 226 different sites, a total of 552 chambers with hydrocyanic acid circulatory fumigation systems and an additional 100 or so chambers without such equipment, but using hydrocyanic acid nonetheless, are either completed or under construction almost exclusively for the purpose of delousing. 300 of these chambers at 131 different facilities have been completed or are still under construction just since January of the past year alone. Almost one-fourth of these, i.e., 131 chambers, are distributed among government and administrative district labor offices, especially in the Alpine and Danube countries, as well as among city administrations and health departments. 249 hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers are either completed or under construction for the armaments industry.

And so, it becomes ever more apparent that the generally incorrect reservations which had been previously held against the use of highly toxic gases in delousing chambers have been thoroughly dispelled. This is illustrated by the fact that in just the last year alone as much hydrocyanic acid has been expended exclusively for the disinfestation of articles in delousing chambers as had been used in all of Germany for large area disinfestations in 1939. During the war the clothing and equipment of *approximately 25 million people* have already been fumigated with hydrocyanic acid. [emphasis added] Fortunately, there have been no reported accidents of a serious nature while working with Zyklon hydrocyanic acid [Zyklon-B] in the chambers equipped with circulatory systems.

Facilities employing circulatory systems are now being built so that they are suitable not just for the use of hydrocyanic acid but primarily for other evaporable liquids as well. Fortunately, these changes can be achieved without extensive modifications in the apparatus so that there is no increase in the already difficult procurement problems; although the DEGESCH circulatory systems could be delivered with relative ease during the first years of the war and, most important of all, could be delivered on short notice, increasing demands have also led to more and more procurement problems because of the fact that the increasing demands have to be surmounted by an ever decreasing number of workers. One should note at this point that hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers have the advantage over hot air chambers of reduced construction costs and, most important of all, require less iron and metal. Consequently, far fewer man-hours are needed for fabrication and so it should not be too surprising that the hydrocyanic acid chamber equipment which has already been installed has been built despite great difficulties by only a few companies with only a small number of workers. Of the manufacturers, one is specialized in the delivery of the blowers, air heaters, and piping and even installs the equipment. The other supplier manufactures the special appliance, the so-called four-way valve with a built-in can opener, which is the centerpiece of the entire system. This second factory usually had only two or three skilled workers available for these tasks who were not at all times capable of working because of physical disabilities.

Thanks to the many delousing facilities which are already in operation and to the other stringent preventive measures, it has been possible, fortunately, to reduce dramatically the number of cases of typhus and the mortality in stark contrast to the earlier years. Nonetheless, a great many new facilities with fumigation chambers will be necessary just for delousing because the use of foreign workers and the crowding of these workers into common barracks is still increasing and, especially in the East, the number of hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers that are available is still far from sufficient.

The increasingly widespread, harmless application of hydrocyanic acid, in itself highly toxic, in delousing chambers equipped with DEGESCH circulatory systems is a good indication of the dependability of this method, which is generally regarded as one of the most effective delousing methods. This is also spelled out in a decree from the Reich Minister of the Interior.

Notes

1. A useful source of information about Dachau as it exists today and some of its post-war history is: Andrew Mollo, "Dachau," *After the Battle* (London: Battle of Britain Prints Ltd., 1980), Number 27, pp. 1-29.
2. Although the four delousing chambers are in the crematorium building and share a common roof and foundation, they are separated from the rest of the building by an open breezeway, i.e., a passageway extending from one side of the building through to the opposite side without any doors. The breezeway is a logical safety feature. If doors had been installed, an accidental accumulation of cyanide gas could have developed in the passageway since it was also adjacent to the hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers and could have eventually penetrated into other parts of the building injuring anyone present. This well thought-out arrangement contrasts sharply with the arrangement of the supposed gas chambers for mass-murder in Auschwitz which were far larger than the four delousing chambers at Dachau but, amazingly enough, had no comparable protection for the occupants of the buildings housing those chambers.
3. One excellent official source on the development of hydrocyanic acid, with many technical design details about the gas chambers themselves, is: Puntigam, Breymesser, and Bernfus, *Blausäuregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr* [Hydrocyanic Acid Gas Chambers for the Prevention of Typhus] (Berlin: *Sonderveröffentlichung des Reichsarbeitsblattes*, 1943). There is nothing even remotely comparable in the English language to this classic work or to many other German works on this subject, many of which are listed in the extensive bibliography. That almost certainly applies to all other languages as well.
4. Thanks to the research of Dr. Robert Faurisson, a great deal of information about the chambers used in this country for the execution of criminals with cyanide and the detailed and complex procedures for such executions is available—some of which will be published shortly by this journal. The gas chambers for executing criminals in the USA still used, long after World War II, the so-called "pot" or "barrel" method to generate cyanide gas by dropping cyanide salt tablets into a pot of sulfuric acid. This method had generally been abandoned for industrial uses throughout most of the world, including the U.S.A., as soon as Zyklon-B became available in the early 1920's. A major drawback of the "pot" method, aside from the problem of disposing of a pot of sulfuric acid con-

taining cyanide, is that a significant amount of cyanide gas is absorbed by the liquid in the pot itself and then released, but only gradually, even after the rest of the chamber has been thoroughly vented. This is probably one of the main reasons why gas masks have to be worn in the gas chamber as part of the complex procedure for removing the body of an executed prisoner.

5. Dr. Gerhard Peters and Emil Wüstinger, "Sach-Entlausung in Blausäure-Kammern," *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1940) Heft 10/11, p. 194.
6. Dr. Gerhard Peters, "Die hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schädlingsbekämpfung [The Highly Effective Gases and Vapors in the Field of Pest Control]," *Sammlung chemischer und chemisch-technischer Vorträge* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1942), Neue Folge: Heft 47a, p. 40.
7. By 1944 Zyklon was being supplied to Auschwitz without the warning ingredient but the reason for this exceptional practice was a supply shortage rather than any desire, as alleged by Exterminationists, to deceive potential murder victims. One cause of considerable concern to some of the German technicians at the time was that since the warning ingredient also contributed to the chemical stability of the Zyklon-B, its removal could present a serious hazard to the end-user. One result of the removal of the warning ingredient seems to have been the shortening of the shelf-life of even properly sealed cans of Zyklon-B.
8. Peters was put on trial in 1949 for complicity in the extermination of the Jews but was given only a five-year jail sentence. After a second retrial he was found not guilty in 1955. His colleague Dr. Bruno Tesch, who had shared the distribution rights for Zyklon-B, was put on trial earlier and executed by the British. Throughout the 1930's and until the end of the war, Peters probably wrote more articles than anyone else on the effectiveness of Zyklon-B for the prevention of disease, especially typhus.
9. Dr. Gerhard Peters, "Blausäure zur Schädlingsbekämpfung [Hydrocyanic Acid for Pest Control]," *Sammlung chemischer und chemisch-technischer Vorträge* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1933), Neue Folge—Heft 20, p. 64. Although this work contains no discussion of the delousing chambers—patents for the standard versions were granted in Germany only after 1938—the article does contain an artist's rendering of a railroad fumigation tunnel for hydrocyanic acid on page 41.
10. Peters and Wüstinger, "Sach-Entlausung in Blausäure-Kammern," p. 196. The term "D" refers to the fresh-air inlet just as in the diagram referred to by Wüstinger in "Increased Use of Hydrocyanic Acid."
11. Peters, "Die hochwirksamen Gase," pp. 36-41.
12. A.R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Torrance: Institute for Historical Review, 1976) p. 191 or Andrew Mollo, p. 17.
13. It was sometimes recommended that the air-gas mixture be heated to at least ten degrees above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid in order to compensate for the cooling through evaporation of the liquid hydrocyanic acid. Heating was especially critical for the venting phase when large amounts of cold air were drawn into the chambers. In hot summer months this heating process was not always essential but of course during the rest of the year, especially during a Polish or German winter, when typhus was generally most prevalent, it was essential. The absence of any provision for heating of the air-gas mixture in the alleged gas chambers for mass-murder is further evidence that the claim is a lie.

14. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfung m.b.H., *Zyklon for Pest Control* (Frankfurt a. M.: DEGESCH, undated), p. 21.
15. From the context, it is quite clear that the expression "circulatory device" is a translation of *Kreislaufanordnung* which I prefer to translate as "circulatory system" just as it was translated for Wüstinger's article.
16. Puntigam, Breymesser & Bernfus, p. 33.
17. According to the present-day Auschwitz authorities, this gas chamber had supposedly been disguised as a mortuary (*Leichenkeller*) until late 1942 but was rebuilt subsequently to serve as a bomb shelter by subdividing the room with interior walls. After the war, the room was "restored" by removing the interior walls except for a portion needed to retain an anteroom next to a door to the outside. In a similar manner, the supposed gas chambers in Krematoria 2 and 3 at Birkenau were supposedly disguised as mortuaries when they were built in 1943. Although they were intended originally to serve as mortuaries, they seem to have been modified to serve as bomb shelters also. This is consistent with a surprising passage in Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz* (Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett, 1960), p. 97 in which the author describes a brief stay, probably during August or September of 1944, in the "gas chamber" when it was serving, at least temporarily, as a bomb shelter during an Allied bombing raid. In other words, at least one of the four gas chambers at Birkenau supposedly did double-duty; on the one hand, it served as a gas chamber to kill 3,000 people every day while at the same time being available as a bomb shelter—fantastico!
18. Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein & Day, 1979), pp. 60-1.
19. This remark about "gas crystals" already shows that Müller has no idea as to what he is writing about even though he supposedly worked in the gas chambers for three years. He seems to be confusing Zyklon-B granules with mothballs which do sublimate to a gas directly from the solid state. Zyklon is quite different.
20. Dr. Ludwig Gassner, "Verkehrshygiene und Schädlingsbekämpfung [Transportation Hygiene and Disinfestation]," *Gesundheits-Ingenieur,* Vol. 66 (1943) Heft 15, pp. 174-76.
21. To those readers who believe it would have been far more difficult to ventilate a freight car filled with dead bodies as compared with a passenger car containing upholstery and intricate paneling and cabinet work, I suggest that anyone using the railroad delousing tunnels for mass-murder would have been able to provide additional ventilation time simply by pulling out any railroad car filled with dead bodies and parking it somewhere on a railroad siding. Furthermore, the movement of such a railroad car, perhaps to a site some distance away for the disposal of the corpses, would in itself have provided additional ventilation in fresh air before anyone would have had to come into direct contact with corpses containing potentially hazardous amounts of cyanide.
22. Peters, "Die hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schädlingsbekämpfung," p. 52. One can also see on pp. 51-4 photographs of some of the other large fumigation chambers, also known as "tunnels," for disinfesting railroad trains which also used the circulatory (*Kreislauf*) principal with powerful blowers and heaters. In Romania there was at least one railroad disinfesting chamber with an internal volume of 1500 cubic meters—see p. 54.

23. Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice and History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 213.
24. Only one of many articles from the German literature is: Dr. Joseph Ruppert, "Gesundheitsverhältnisse und Seuchenbekämpfung im Generalgouvernement [Sanitary Conditions and Contagious Disease Control in the Generalgouvernement]," *Der praktische Desinfektor,* Vol. 33 (Berlin: Hygiene Verlag Erich Deleiter, July 1941) Heft 7, pp. 72-3.
25. R. Queisner, "Erfahrungen mit Blausäure bei Grossraumentwesungen [Experiences with Hydrocyanic Acid in the Fumigation of Large Areas]," *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie und Schädlingsbekämpfung*, Vol. 36 (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1944), pp. 130-37. The title of the article is preceded by the note that the article was taken from the exterminator school (*Desinfektorenschule*) of the Waffen-SS in Oranienburg, near Berlin, with the name of the director: SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer Dr. H. Grundlach. Grundlach is identified in the Gerstein statement as the man who made murderous experiments on women in Ravensbrueck.
26. Some readers may object to the claim that Zyklon-B was an abbreviation for Zyklon-Blausäure. Although the "B" may have originally been intended merely to reflect a sequential numbering of another "Zyklon" product since there had been a Zyklon-A until about 1920 and even a Zyklon-C for a brief period, by at least the beginning of World War II the German literature used the terms "Zyklon," "Zyklon-B" and "Zyklon-Blausäure" interchangeably. The longest form was used least often and generally only at the beginning of a piece of text in order to identify clearly the principle ingredient. The fact that Zyklon-B and Zyklon-Blausäure are synonymous is also shown by the fact that in German both terms are almost always hyphenated.

The Origins of the Second World War

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING

[Paper Presented to the Seventh International Revisionist Conference]

I. Historical Development from the Nineteenth Century to the First World War

In 1955, the Indian diplomat and historian K. M. Panikkar, a longtime friend and collaborator of Pandit Nehru, the Indian prime minister, published a book entitled *Asia and Western Dominance 1498-1945*. He shows Western dominance of Asia as beginning with the Portuguese Vasco da Gama's discovery of the maritime route to India, and ending with the Second World War. The two world wars of the first half of the 20th century he justly describes as a European civil war. By this self-mutilation, Europe lost its position in the world, its hegemony, and caused itself to be divided into two spheres of influence: one American, and one Russian.[1]

One can only understand the origins, progress, and results of the Second World War if, like Panikkar, one considers both world wars as constituting one homogeneous, inwardly coherent era.

The immediate roots of the Second World War lie in the termination of the First World War by the so-called "suburban treaties" of Paris in 1919.

The deeper causes of both world wars have to be sought in the industrialization of our mode of life, and in the capitalistic imperialism of the second half of the 19th century. The upheaval in economy and society caused by new technology, modern means of communication and transport, and the rapid growth of the European population led to the development of the modern capitalist economy.

Great Britain was the birthplace and starting point of the process of industrialization. It became the world's department store. The British imported raw materials from their colonies and delivered the finished products all over the world.

India, the main competitor to Britain's textile industry, was forcibly reduced to a colony producing only raw materials. France, the most dangerous enemy of British colonialism, had been weakened during the coalition wars against Napoleon, until finally England's naval hegemony was secured by Nelson's victory over the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar in 1805.

The British Empire was undoubtedly the leading power of the world throughout the 19th century. Up to the outbreak of the First World War, it was the leading industrial nation and the most important financial, as well as maritime and naval power.[2] The European balance of power, the foundation of British rule around the world, had been re-established at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This system of peace following the Napoleonic Wars broke down with the Crimean War (1853-1856).[3] At that time Great Britain and France declared war on tsarist Russia because of its attack on the decrepit Turkish Empire and defeated the Russians soundly. Then, with the national unification of Italy and the foundation of the Second German Reich after the victorious war against France in 1870-71, a new system of states suddenly developed in Europe. By uniting the south and central German states with Prussia, Bismarck shaped the Second German Reich.

Between 1850 and 1870, the European continent, as well as North America, completed the transition to an industrial mode of living. The United States carried out the process of industrialization at the same rate as the leading industrial nations of Europe, which were at that time Great Britain and France. The Civil War of 1861-1865, with the defeat of the Confederate States, saved the large American Union and secured its way to becoming an industrial world power—a portentous event for the development of Europe and the world.[4] It was at this same time that East Asia was forcibly opened up by the two Anglo-Saxon world powers and France. After the bloody suppression of the Sepoy revolt from 1857 to 1859, the English made India into a crown colony and made it the heart of the British Empire.[5] By Admiral Perry's 1853 expedition, the Americans forced Japan to abandon its policy of isolation,[6] and with the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868, Japan's adoption of the new industrial economy took hold with ever-increasing speed. In the same way, China, the country with the world's largest population, was forcibly joined to the Anglo-Saxon economic system by the peace treaty of Peking in 1860, which had been preceded by the British Opium Wars (1840-1860). France had been involved in these wars too. The Chinese Empire was thus degraded to a semi-colony.[7]

In the seventies, capitalist imperialism set in, starting from England, as a competition of powers now borne on the wings of technology. World economy, as it was developed radiating from Great Britain, involved, and still involves, the drive to world hegemony through the struggle to dominate resources and markets. In this competition for global rule, the British Empire was to a great extent in the lead. From this largest commonwealth in human history, stretching over five continents, capitalist imperialism ever widened its orbit of power.

Runners-up were the United States and (especially on the European mainland) the German Reich. Germany's industry took off at a breath-taking rate. Between 1870 and 1890, German inventive genius, German organization, diligence, and competence shaped the newly unified German Reich into the leading industrial power of the European continent, and in English eyes, made it a bothersome competitor. In 1887, the British government enacted the Trade Marks Act, requiring any German product coming onto the British world market to bear the mark "Made in Germany." This measure soon boomeranged, however. For the consumer, "Made in Germany" became the sign of the better, while at the same time the less costly, product.

German competition grew irresistibly. In the fields of iron and steel production and in the chemical industries, Germany outdistanced its British competitor by the turn of the century. To this were added the growth of merchant shipping, and later, the navy. In the eighties, the German Reich acquired protectorates or colonies in Africa. In the nineties, a number of islands in the Pacific were added. On the coast of China, Germany acquired Kiaochow with its capital Tsingtao by a lease treaty in 1897.

As Germany's industrial and financial power as well as its trade increased, a growing antagonism between Germany and the British Empire arose. Everywhere the ambitious German industry confronted a British competitor avidly observing the growing danger to his monopolistic trade relations, jealously guarded until then. A 1910 conversation between Lord Balfour, leader of the British Conservative Party, and Henry White, then United States Ambassador in London, shows the contrast between the two European industrial powers, and the attitude of the British leadership:[8]

> Balfour: We are probably fools not to find a reason for declaring war on Germany before she builds too many ships and takes away our trade.
>
> White: You are a very high-minded man in private life. How can you possibly contemplate anything so politically immoral as provoking a war against a harmless nation which has as good a right to a navy as you have? If you wish to compete with German trade, work harder.
>
> Balfour: That would mean lowering our standard of living. Perhaps it would be simpler for us to have a war.
>
> White: I am shocked that you of all men should enunciate such principles.
>
> Balfour: Is it a question of right or wrong? Maybe it is just a question of keeping our supremacy.

In connection with this conversation, General Wedemeyer calls attention to a statement by the British military historian, General J. F.C. Fuller:[9]

> Fuller remarks with reference to this recorded conversation that its interest does not lie simply in the evidence it affords of Balfour's unprincipled cynicism. Its significance lies in the fact that 'the Industrial Revolution has led to the establishment of an economic struggle for existence in which self-preservation dictated a return to the ways of the jungle. The primeval struggle between nation and nation in which all competitors were beasts.'

Naturally, the rapid growth of Germany's population, economy, and its military potential was a thorn in the sides of its neighbors on the continent. France had never overcome the defeat of 1870 and thirsted for revenge. Russia, the largest land power and main enemy of the British Empire throughout the 19th century (especially in Asia), had lost the Crimean War in 1856, and had to withdraw in the face of British power after a second, victorious war against the Turkish Empire, for fear of another military confrontation with England.

The Berlin Congress of 1878, which was dominated by Bismarck, rearranged affairs in the Balkans. By his supreme statesmanship, the chancellor managed to avoid another war between Russia, the largest land power, and England, the largest sea power. From then on, however, the relationship between Russia and Germany deteriorated. Inspired by the pan-slavic tendencies then prevailing in the tsar's empire, a sinister watch-word came to the fore: "On to Vienna through Berlin!" In the same way as it tried to divide up the Turkish Empire, Russian imperialist policy sought to dismember the Habsburg Monarchy, which included a number of different peoples. Russia wanted to place them all under the religious rule of the tsar as protector of the Orthodox Christians in the Balkans. Diplomatically speaking, that meant nothing less than the integration of Bulgaria and Serbia into the Russian monarchy, as well as that of all the West and South Slavic peoples. After Japan defeated Russia in Asia during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, which ended with a peace brought about by the American President Theodore Roosevelt, the Russian expansionist policy then changed its aim and turned again to the Balkans.

In 1914, Serbia unleashed the fury of war, as the Austrian heir apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife were both murdered by Serbian terrorists. The murders had been organized by Colonel Dragutin Dimitrevic, chief of the intelligence department of the Serbian General Staff, while the Russian military attaché in Belgrade, Colonel Artamanov, financed them.[10] In addition, the Serbian government had received an assurance of support from the Russian government in case of an Austrian attack on Serbia. Thus tsarist Russia bears the main responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War. Russia encouraged Serbia to war, and on July 25 the Russian Privy Council decided on a partial mobilization of the Western provinces adjacent to Austria-Hungary and Germany.[11]

Russia had been allied with France since 1892; France had connected herself with England in 1904 by the "Entente Cordiale," and Russia had made an agreement with England in 1907. The encirclement of the two Central Powers—Germany and Austria—was complete. Italy was an unreliable ally of the Central Powers; but it was only the British declaration of war against Germany on August 4, 1914, that enlarged the European conflict into a world war. Following the 27th of July, the British navy was the first force to fully mobilize.[12]

Two years before the outbreak of that war, convinced of the inevitability of war between England and Germany, the American author Homer Lea (1876-1912) wrote in his book *The Day of the Saxon*:[13]

> The German Empire is less in area than the single state of Texas, while the Saxon race claims political dominion over half of the landed surface of the earth and over all its ocean wastes. Yet the German Empire possesses a greater revenue than the American Republic, is the richest nation in productivity and possesses a population 50 percent greater than the United Kingdom. Its actual military power is manifoldly greater than that of the entire Saxon race. Germany is so tightly encircled by the Saxon race that it cannot make even a tentative extension of its territory or political sovereignty over non-Saxon states without endangering the integrity of the Saxon world. Germany cannot move against France without involving or including in its downfall that of the British Empire. It cannot move against Denmark on the North, Belgium and the Netherlands on the West or Austria-Hungary on the South without involving the British nation in a final struggle for Saxon political existence. Any extension of German sovereignty over these non-British states predetermines the political dissolution of the British Empire. In a like manner any extension of Teutonic sovereignty in the western hemisphere, though against a non-Saxon race and remote from the territorial integrity of the American Republic, can only succeed in the destruction of American power in the western hemisphere.

The founder of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, said about the causes of the First World War: "We know that three robbers (the bourgeoisie and the governments of England, tsarist Russia and France) prepared to plunder Germany."[14]

Germany faced the Triple Entente of the British Empire, France, and Russia, while its own allies—Austria-Hungary, the Turkish Empire, and, since 1915, Bulgaria, were all weak and in need of support. Italy, which had originally been allied with the two Central Powers, remained at first neutral and then entered the war on the side of the Entente.

Despite the unequal distribution of forces, the military ability and economic competence of Germany, as well as the spirit of sacrifice and endurance shown by its people, proved so strong that Germany's eastern enemy, Russia, collapsed in the spring of 1917. In March 1918, after the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian Empire had to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk dictated by the victorious Central Powers.

Fate seemed to have decided in favor of the Central Powers. The Western allies were facing the necessity of a compromise settlement of peace. In order to avoid that, England then entangled the United States in the war.

After the outbreak of war in 1914, the U.S.A. provided the Entente with ammunition, arms, and other war material, thus committing an open breach of its neutrality. Most of this traffic in arms was conducted by the Morgan banking company. To secure its arms manufacturers' profits, the U.S.A. had to enter the war as an active participant, thereby losing its position as a neutral mediator.

The decisive influence in winning the Wilson Administration over to war was that of the Zionists. England had won their help by promising to establish a national home for Jews in Palestine if Jews exercised their influence in Washington in favor of an active American military intervention in the European war. The decision was facilitated by the fact that their kinsmen were able to seize power in Russia in 1917 by the Bolshevik revolution after the downfall of the anti-semitic tsarist regime. The United States declared war upon the Central Powers on April 6, 1917; on November 2, 1917 the British Foreign Secretary handed over to Baron Rothschild a government statement concerning the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine.[15]

II. The "Suburban Treaties" of Paris

It was the intervention of the United States which decided the war in favor of the Entente, because of America's immense military potential and its fresh troops. In October 1918 the last Imperial government of the German Reich asked Wilson, the American president, to mediate talks regarding an armistice and eventually a peace treaty, based on the "Fourteen Points" he had proclaimed earlier. The Western Allies, however, did not adhere to these "Fourteen Points." Thus, they broke the preliminary contract, whose validity was emphasized by American politicians and presidential advisors like Bernard Baruch and John Foster Dulles. According to Baruch, the President had refused "to accept measures which clearly do not respond to the motions we had persuaded the enemy to agree to and of which we may not change anything, just because we are powerful enough to do that."[16] At Versailles, Baruch was Wilson's advisor in financial affairs. Similarly, the South African prime minister, General Smuts, in his letter to the American president dated May 30, 1919, pointed out the obligations the Western Allies accepted in the preliminary treaty, which they did not honor. President Wilson, however, was not able to defend his point of view against the Western Powers, since he was severely ill.[17]

Wilson had induced the German people to capitulate and overthrow the monarchy by the promise, soon to be broken, of a peace without annexations and indemnities. Capitulation and revolution delivered the German Empire to the mercy of the vengeful victors. Germany was not allowed to take part in the peace negotiations; the victors alone decided the conditions of peace, in a procedure without precedent in European history. On May 7, 1919, the peace conditions were handed over to the German peace delegation. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, foreign secretary and leader of the delegation, pointed out in his speech before the delegates of the Western Allies and their associates:[18]

> . . . We know the impact of the hate we are encountering here, and we have heard the passionate demand of the victors, who require us, the defeated, to pay the bill and plan to punish us as the guilty party. We are asked to confess ourselves the sole culprits; in my view, such a confession would be a lie . . .

By these words the foreign secretary refused to accept article 231 of the peace treaty, the so-called war-guilt article, the lie which claimed that Germany was solely responsible for the war and could therefore be made responsible for all the havoc wrought by the war. The victors threatened that if the German government didn't sign the treaty, they would invade Germany proper. Indignation in the Weimar National Assembly was general, and the climate of opinion favored rejection. The Social Democrat Philipp Scheidemann, who had proclaimed the German Republic on 9 November 1918, and was prime minister of the first republican government elected by the National Assembly, declared: "I ask you, who as an honest man—not even as a German, simply as an honest man feeling himself bound by contracts, is able to accept such conditions? Which hand would not wither, should it be bound in such chains? In the government's view, this treaty is unacceptable."[19] Scheidemann, as well as Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, resigned under protest. Important German-Jewish economic leaders, namely Walther Rathenau and the Hamburg banker Max Warburg, took a firm stand against accepting the dictate of the victors and called for a refusal, even against the odds of an enemy invasion of Germany.[20] The National Assembly, however, did not have the courage to maintain such a position, and under protest, voted acceptance of the Versailles dictate. It was on June 28, 1919, the date fixed by the victorious powers, that the National Assembly's plenipotentiaries had to sign that treaty. The date had been chosen as a reminder of the murder at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.

Connected with the "war guilt article" were the punitive regulations of sections 227-231, referring to the surrender of "war criminals" to the victors, the most prominent "criminal" on the lists being the German emperor, who had fled to the Netherlands. Since the Dutch government declined to extradite the emperor, the planned trial did not take place. The German government refused to hand over other prominent German leaders to the victors, and passed an act concerning prosecution of war crimes.

One of the inhuman conditions of capitulation was the hunger blockade against Germany, which was continued by French demand until the Versailles Treaty came into force in January 1920.

Because of its long-term effects, the hunger blockade imposed by the British was more decisive in defeating the Central Powers than was wartime military pressure. The number of deaths due to hunger and malnutrition is estimated at 800,000 for 1919 alone. A committee of American women traveling through Germany by order of Herbert Hoover, chief of war relief and later president, reported in July 1919, "If the conditions continue which we have seen in Germany, a generation will grow up in Central Europe which will be physically and psychologically disabled, so that it will become a danger for the whole of the world."[21]

Adolf Hitler, then an unknown soldier, experienced the famine which lasted throughout the war and in those early postwar years. His political program was born of those experiences, particularly his idea of conquering Ukraine for the German people. Conquering the fertile regions of southern Russia could provide not only living space for the German people; it could ban forever the possibility of another hunger blockade.

Hitler experienced the Revolution of November 1918 lying wounded in a military hospital. He became a passionate enemy of the November Revolution and of the "Soviet Republic" in the Bavarian capital of Munich during April 1919, a political coup staged chiefly by Jews and directed by Lenin's radio commands from Moscow. Hitler became a member of the then totally unimportant "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (German Worker's Party) founded in January of that same year, and he soon proved to be a brilliant orator. His main topic was the Versailles dictate, which he saw as closely connected with the November revolution and the mischievous revolutionary activities of the Jews. As a German of the late Habsburg Monarchy, he was a fanatic supporter of a union of the Austrian Germans with the German Reich. The main focuses of his political activity were the fight against the peace dictate, the Marxist-Communist threat with the leading role of the Jews in the revolt, and the fight for self-determination and equality of rights for the German people.[22]

The overthrow of the monarchy, the change from an empire to a republic, as well as the capitulation, had been sparked by President Wilson's third note, dated October 23, 1918. The National Assembly, which began sitting in January 1919, was determined to shape the new state and government according to the Western example, as the victors had wished. By the peace dictate, however, the Allies had sentenced the Weimar Republic to death even before the new constitution had been ratified by the National Assembly. On June 28, 1919, the German government signed the Versailles dictate; the new constitution came into force on the 11th of August, burdened with the curse of the Versailles treaty and its unrealizable demands. The miserable end of the Weimar Republic, "the freest democracy of the world," and its result, Hitler's dictatorship, were consequences of the Versailles dictate. The victors had won the war but lost the peace by their treaty.

The most important stipulations of the dictate of Versailles were as follows: The German Reich had to cede 73,485 square kilometers, inhabited by 7,325,000 persons, to neighboring states. Before the war it had possessed 540,787 square kilometers and 67,892,000 inhabitants; after the war, 467,301 square kilometers and 59,036,000 inhabitants remained. Germany lost 75% of its yearly production of zinc ore, 74.8% of iron ore, 7.7% of lead ore, 28.7% of coal, and 4% of potash. Of its yearly agricultural production, Germany lost 19.7% in potatoes, 18.2% in rye, 17.2% in barley, 12.6% in wheat, and 9.6% in oats.

The Saar territory and other regions to the west of the Rhine were occupied by foreign troops and were to remain so for fifteen years, with Cologne, Mainz, and Coblenz as bridgeheads. The costs of the occupation, 3,640,000,000 gold marks, had to be paid by the German Reich. Germany was not allowed to station troops or build fortifications to the west of the Rhine and in a fifty-kilometer zone to the east.

Germany was forced to disarm almost completely, the conditions calling for: abolition of the general draft, prohibition of all heavy arms (artillery and tanks), a volunteer army of only 100,000 troops and officers restricted to long-term enlistments; reduction of the navy to six capital ships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo-boats, 15,000 men and 500 officers. An air force was absolutely prohibited. The process of disarmament was overseen by an international military committee until 1927. Additionally, all German rivers had to be internationalized and overseas cables ceded to the victors.

The economic conditions of the Versailles treaty were as follows: After the delivery of the navy, the merchant ships had to be handed over as well, with only a few exceptions. Germany was deprived of all her foreign accounts—private ones too—and lost her colonies. For a period of ten years, Germany had to supply France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Italy with 40 million tons of coal per year, and had to deliver machines, factory furnishings, tools and other materials for the restoration of devastated areas in Belgium and the North of France. In regard to the hunger blockade, which continued until January 1920, a special hardship on the German people was the forced delivery of German cattle to the victors for breeding and slaughtering purposes.

The Versailles Treaty did not contain any limitation on the victors' financial demands, in order to facilitate additional demands. In 1920, the Western allies fixed the amount of reparations first at a sum of 269 billions of gold marks; then, in 1921, at 132 billions—both unrealistic demands. France made use of this opportunity by occupying additional German cities. This policy of blackmail culminated in the invasion of the Ruhr territory by French and Belgian military units in January, 1923. In this way, France hoped to accomplish the disintegration of the German Reich, and to establish the Rhine as France's eastern frontier. Thereafter, the French occupation forces accelerated inflation in the occupied zones by confiscating the presses for printing bank notes, and produced money in unprecedented amounts. It was thus that France promoted high inflation until the breakdown of German currency.[23]

The French government, however, did not achieve its goal. Even its British and Italian allies condemned the French attack on the Ruhr as an open breach of the Versailles treaty. The paralysis of the German economy resulting from inflation, combined with passive resistance, forced the United States to abandon its policy of isolation and to concentrate on regulation of the war debts.

The Habsburg Empire, the second strongest of the Central Powers, was destroyed and divided up by the victors. Serbia and Romania were amply rewarded with substantial enlargements of territory, since they had sided with the Western Allies. Serbia swallowed its Croatian, Slovenian, and Montenegrin neighbors to become the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and Romania received the eastern part of the former Hungarian Monarchy. The victors established another new state, especially favored by President Wilson, and which up to then had been unknown in European history, namely, Czechoslovakia. This new Czechoslovakia became the heir of the monarchy of Bohemia-Moravia, formerly belonging to the western half of the Habsburg monarchy, and of old Slovakia, then part of Hungary. Because the Czech leaders Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Benes, had given false data to the victors, the Czechs, forming only 44% of the population of the new state, were allowed to rule over the other 56% of the population, consisting of 23% Germans, 18% Slovaks, 5% Magyars, 3.8% Ukrainians, 1.3% Jews and 0.6% Poles. The Sudeten Germans were the largest minority, numbering 3.5 million persons, followed by the Slovaks, numbering 2.5 million, who had only agreed to the establishment of the new Czechoslovak state after they had been promised full autonomy. This promise was broken. Also, Italy was ceded the German South Tyrol.[24]

At their national assembly in Vienna in November 1918, the Germans of the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire had decided to join themselves to the German Reich. The Weimar National Assembly had agreed to annex the 10 million Germans of the western half of the Danube Empire. The victors, however, denied the German people their right of self-determination, forcing 3.5 million Sudeten Germans under Czech rule, and compelling the Austrian Germans to establish an "independent" republic with Vienna as its capital. The truncated Austrian state was burdened with the peace dictate of St. Germain,[25] a treaty as hard and humiliating as that of Versailles. Hungary, the Eastern part of the Habsburg Monarchy, reduced to one-third of its former territory due to its losses in favor of Romania, Serbia, and Czechoslovakia, was forced to sign an equally harsh treaty at Trianon.

Poland, newly founded as a monarchy in 1916 after its liberation from Russia rule by German troops, became a republic and was greatly enlarged at the expense of Germany and Austria-Hungary. From the Habsburg Empire, Poland received Galicia and Cracow; Germany had to renounce her rights to West Prussia, Posen, and the eastern part of Upper Silesia. The German city of Danzig was separated from the Reich and put under the administration of the League of Nations as a so-called "free city." The "Polish Corridor" separated East Prussia from the rest of the Reich so that this Prussian province was inaccessible to officials except by sea.

This sadistic fixing of frontiers was due mainly to French influence. The French commander-in-chief, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, declared that in twenty years a new war was inevitable. To hold Germany down permanently, France devised a system of treaties with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Britain's Prime Minister David Lloyd George disapproved of the imposition of the new German-Polish frontiers,[26] but the British government did nothing to prevent it. General Henry Allen, the commander-in-chief of the American occupation forces of the Rhine, also spoke strongly against such "wrong policy."[27]

When seen from a global point of view, the most imminent result of the First World War was the victory of the United States of America. The first stage of the European civil war had resulted in a decrease of European power and brought about America's rise to the world's leading power, as well as the determining factor in the fate of Europe. Certainly the two Western colonial powers of Great Britain and France had reached their greatest territorial extension overseas as well as their climax of power in Europe with the defeat of Germany, the destruction of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the division of the Turkish Empire; but they had been able to win only by the help of an extra-European power, and they had thereby become America's debtors. The British Empire, which up to then had been the main representative of European power overseas, as well as the main financial and naval power, had by war's end become dependent on its North American "junior partner." By the agreement reached at the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922, London had to share its naval rule with the U.S.A. and grant America equality of rights on the seas.

Because he was afflicted with paralysis, President Wilson was not able in 1918 and 1919 to realize the ideals based on his "Fourteen Points." The peace treaties were thus distorted by French and English hatred and vengeance, endangering the peace after they had won the war with American help.[28] The American president was able to effect the creation of the League of Nations, envisioned as a world government peacefully regulating disputes among peoples, but an isolationist majority in Congress prevented American membership in the League, as well as rejecting ratification of the Versailles treaty. In 1921, the U.S.A. and Germany signed a separate peace agreement securing all the advantages of the Versailles treaty for the U.S.A. However, the attempt to withdraw into isolation was a grave mistake, as well as an evasion of responsibility, for Europe had neither been able to end the war on its own or to reach a compromise peace. Thus the main responsibility for the subsequent development of European history falls on the United States.

Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, declared that the forced peace of Versailles was unacceptable. The name of God had been excluded from it, and from it not only one, but ten wars would originate.[29] Lenin, the atheist founder of the Soviet Union, said about the dictate of Versailles:[30]

> An atrocious peace, making slaves out of millions of highly civilized people. That is no peace; those are conditions dictated to a helpless victim by robbers with knives in their hands.

George Kennan, the well-known American diplomat and historian, judged:[31]

> In this way, the pattern of the events that led the Western world to new disaster in 1939 was laid down in its entirety by the Allied governments in 1918-19. What we shall have to observe from here on, in the relations between Russia, Germany and the West, follows a logic as inexorable as that of any Greek tragedy.

III. The Period between the Wars

Since the Allied powers depended upon Germany's reparation payments to repay their debts to the U.S.A., the American government in 1924 regulated the reparations problem with a payment plan named for the American financier Charles Dawes. The Dawes Plan was based on the principle of changing political guilt into commercial debt. Accordingly, American loans, mainly short-term ones, poured into the German economy. Germany could only meet the victors' reparation claims by a surplus resulting from increased exports. Since many states pursued a policy of enacting protective tariffs to restrict German competition, a new payment plan had to be arranged in 1928, the so-called Young Plan, named after the American banker Owen Young.

According to the Young Plan, the German Reich would pay reparations until 1988, while at the same time having to pay interest on and amortize the mainly short-term private loans. However, the shattering 1929 Wall Street crash and the ensuing crisis of world economy rendered the Young Plan absurd before it came into force. By 1931 mass employment and a decrease in the gross national product stemming from the Wall Street crash led to German insolvency and moved

Hindenburg, then president of the German Reich, to write to President Hoover asking for a moratorium. In July 1932 the Conference of Lausanne ended German reparation payments by fixing a final payment of three billion gold marks. The German Reich had altogether paid 53.155 billion gold marks in reparations, including contributions in kind.

The German economy had still to meet interest obligations deriving from Germany's enormous foreign debt. In the spring of 1933, after political leadership had changed simultaneously in the U.S.A. and in Germany, the influence of Jewish and Socialist emigrants from Germany caused relations between the two countries to deteriorate. At first, both President Roosevelt and the Hitler government countered identical domestic problems of economic depression and mass unemployment by state work programs: the New Deal in the USA; the Four Year Plan in Germany. Shortly after his inauguration in 1933, Roosevelt announced a large-scale naval rearmament program and established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in the hope of fostering trade relations which could boost American industry.[32] One year later, the Soviet Union was accepted as a member of the League of Nations, another augury of the anti-German coalition of the Second World War.

After the nationalist parties' seizure of power in Germany, resulting after one-and-a-half years in Hitler's autocratic rule, based on a mass-movement, all the victor states of the First World War talked of a future war. It was not Hitler who wanted the war, but rather his internal and external enemies. Shortly after Hitler's rise to power, the Polish government suggested a preventive war against Germany to its French ally.[33] In March 1933, the international Jewish leadership decreed a propaganda and economic war on Germany, linked to a boycott of German products. During his journey to America in May 1933, Hjalmar Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank, found the atmosphere hostile. When his talks with President Roosevelt concerning regulation of German debts took a friendly turn, Schacht explained to Roosevelt that Germany could meet its obligations to American private creditors only if Germany were given the opportunity to increase its exports. This, however, did not jibe with the international boycott movement organized by the Jews, which sought a speedy overthrow of the Hitler government. During his stay in America, Schacht was also told that Paris nursed exceedingly anti-German sentiments and that people were saying that Germany should be divided up in order to accomplish what had been neglected in Versailles.[34]

Schacht managed to render the boycott useless, however, and he made Germany economically independent by signing the clearing agreements. The Four-Year Plan proved to be a success, and the Hitler government managed to get nearly all the jobless into some kind of employment by the end of 1937. At the same time, the American New Deal failed. After that, Roosevelt changed his policy to one favoring intervention. He introduced it by his "Quarantine" speech dating from October 1937, directed against Japan but also against Germany and Italy.[35]

For the ambitious Roosevelt, a large-scale war could help in solving his domestic problems by absorbing the unemployed through an armament boom, as well as subsequently bringing to pass the "American Century" through his leadership of a world government. He favored turmoil in Europe, and through his Ambassador, Anthony Biddle, he influenced the Polish government not to enter into negotiations with Germany.[36] When, in 1938, the German people realized the right of self-determination by merging Austria and the Sudetenland into the Reich according to the decisions of the Munich conference of September 1938, Roosevelt protested against the Western powers' acceptance of Germany's rightful claims. The Munich agreement, involving Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy, was the *last independent decision* in Europe, uninfluenced by either America or Russia. Therefore, President Roosevelt declared it a capitulation to Hitler, and brought pressure on the Western powers and Poland to offer stiff resistance to Germany.[37] Roosevelt and Stalin had equal interests in the outbreak of a war in Europe, each of them nursing his own dream of a world domination; Roosevelt as president of a world government in the form of the United Nations, Stalin as dictator of a Communist world empire.[38]

IV. The Outbreak of the Second World War

The problem of inducing the enemy to fire the first shot in order to be able to brand him the aggressor was easier in the German-Polish confrontation than it was to be two years later in the conflict between Japan and the U.S.A. The Polish, influenced by the American administration and relying on their alliance with Great Britain and France, reacted to the last German peace proposal with a general mobilization. Thus they forced the German government's hand. According to Frederick the Great of Prussia, "The attacker is the one who forces his adversary to attack." Thanks to the treason of Herwarth von Bittenfeld, then secretary to the German embassy in Moscow, President Roosevelt knew of the German-Russian secret treaty of August 23, 1939 even before Hitler could inform his ally. Roosevelt, however, did not inform the Polish government of this intelligence, since he, like Stalin, wanted war.[39]

The Soviet dictator signed the treaty with Hitler in order to cause war between the capitalist states. It was his aim to intervene after the capitalist powers were exhausted. In this way he intended to emerge as victor of the war. In order to effect the Bolshevist world revolution, with the ultimate aim of establishing Moscow's rule over the world, the conquest of Germany was essential.[40] Bolshevist attempts at seizing power in Germany between 1918 and 1923 had failed because of the Freikorps (Volunteer Corps) and the Reichswehr.[41] By means of the Second World War and with the help of President Roosevelt, Stalin would conquer half of Europe, including half of Germany, and integrate it into the Communist block. Roosevelt's dream of becoming president of the world was not to come to pass, however; he died on April 12, 1945, eighteen days before Hitler's suicide.

On September 3, 1939, the British government declared war on Germany and thus forced France to take the same disastrous step, hypocritically claiming they were doing so to protect Polish independence. Exactly twenty-five years earlier, on August 4, 1914, the British government had declared war on the German Reich, proclaiming its support for Belgian neutrality. Within a quarter of a century, the British Empire thus started two unprovoked wars in order to destroy Germany.[42] To be sure, in 1939 the British government did not act independently, but was pressured intensely by the American President. Joseph Kennedy, from 1938 to 1940 the United States Ambassador in London, later replied to a question of James Forrestal, the U.S. secretary of defense, on just how it was that war had broken out:

> Hitler would have fought Russia without any later conflict with England if it had not been for Bullitt's [William Bullitt, then Ambassador to France] urging on Roosevelt in the summer of 1939 that the Germans must be faced down about Poland; neither the French nor the British would have made Poland a cause of war if it hadn't been for the constant needling from Washington. Bullitt, he said, kept telling Roosevelt that the Germans would not fight, Kennedy said that they would and that they would overrun Europe. Chamberlain, he says, stated that America and the world Jews had forced England into the war. In his telephone conversations with Roosevelt in the summer of 1939, the President kept telling him to put some iron up Chamberlain's backside . . .[43]

The 1941 German attack on the Soviet Union was a preventive war to avoid the Soviet Russian attack then being prepared. At that time the Soviet Union proved the most heavily armed state, underestimated not only by the German, but also by the Allied general staffs.[44]

Roosevelt's diplomacy contributed to the failure of German attack plans for the spring of 1941. Since he had engineered the Yugoslavian *coup d'état* of March 27, 1941,[45] the German command saw the necessity of a Balkan campaign, thus delaying the attack on the Soviet Union by five weeks. For President Roosevelt, America's entry into the European war was complicated by the Neutrality Act, and by the German government's silence over the growing breaches of neutrality committed by the U.S.A. on behalf of the Western Allies throughout the years 1939-1941.[46] Eventually, Roosevelt found the "backdoor to war" by provoking war with Japan.[47] His economic sanctions and political demands had been devised with the purpose of driving Japan into war, forcing it to fire the first shot and thus appear to the world as the aggressor. He attained this objective through his ultimatum of

November 26, 1941, which he had issued without informing the American Congress. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941 was thereby artificially provoked.[48]

By his demand for unconditional surrender Roosevelt made impossible any attempt at a political solution of the war problems. For him and his British friend Winston Churchill the complete destruction of the German Reich and the extermination of the German people were the main objective of the war. Military force, only a means for attaining an end in the view of Clausewitz, became an end in itself. Anti-German propaganda, directed by the American administration itself, grew to an infernal extent.

In the spring of 1941, when the U.S.A. was still officially neutral, the Jewish author, Theodore Kaufman, published the book *Germany Must Perish*. In it he outlined a plan for the biological eradication of the German people through the forced sterilization of the whole adult population.[49]

Charles Lindbergh, the famous American pilot, recorded these extermination plans in his diary.[50] The sterilization plans could not be put into effect due to the developing discord within the anti-Hitler coalition. In 1943, Roosevelt disclosed to Cardinal Spellman that he intended to leave Europe to the Russians as a sphere of influence.[51] One year later, when the Red Army conquered Poland, disagreements arose between Great Britain and the USA on one side, and Stalin on the other, terminating with Poland's complete integration into the Communist sphere of influence. That was just one of the results of a world war unleashed by Great Britain in order to defend Poland.

After being elected four times, contrary to the American tradition, President Roosevelt was in such bad physical shape after his fourth inauguration that he was unable to fulfill his duties. Similar to President Wilson at Versailles in 1919, Roosevelt at Yalta in 1945 showed alarming signs of exhaustion and dementia. At times he was not able to follow Stalin's line of thought during his talks with the Soviet dictator. Thus the Russian autocrat had an easy game at ramming through his plans regarding Europe and Asia. In Europe the Soviet Union reached the Elbe-Saale Line, dividing Germany, as well as the Occident, into two parts. As to East Asia, Stalin had the Portsmouth Treaty between Russia and Japan revised as a reward for Russian help in the defeat of Japan. Four years later, in 1949, China turned Communist, Communism's greatest triumph after its success in Europe.

My lecture is now drawing to a close and I shall summarize. In the course of the 19th Century, a capitalist world economy had led to the growing importance and intensification of economic ties and interests on the international stage; on the one hand bringing the nations together and establishing an interconnection of all peoples by modern means of transport and communication; on the other hand, aggravating old conflicts and creating new ones. The possibility of mutual and international involvement in other people's affairs, and of unending conflicts, was particularly increased. It was characteristic of the pre-industrial age that man could only reach limited aims, by limited means; the sign of the Machine Age and its mode of living was the enabling of man to strive for unlimited aims by seemingly unlimited means.

The conflicts resulting from a capitalistic world economy culminated at the turn of the century in the international rivalry between Germany and the British Empire. This tension, which had never existed before between these two nations, was rooted in trade competition, and overshadowed all the old conflicts between the Continental powers. A local conflict ignited by the small Balkan state of Serbia in 1914, and expanded to a war of European scale by Russia's meddling on Serbia's side, developed into a world war with the British declaration of war on Germany. Werner Sombart, the well-known German historian of capitalism, describes the nature of this development:[52]

> . . . [the] common characteristic of all developments of the capitalist era is a pressure toward infinity, a boundlessness of aims, a force striving beyond all organic measure. Here we have one of those inner contradictions pervading modern culture: that life, in its highest and strongest action, overreaches and . . . destroys itself.

The American intervention in the European civil war in 1917, brought about by British policy and ensuring the Allied victory, ushered in the climax of Anglo-Saxon world rule. At that time, after overthrowing two of the most powerful continental powers, Russia and Germany, the two Anglo-Saxon powers were rulers of the globe. They won the war, but they lost the peace because of their own incapability to shape a just order of peace. Britain and America bear the main responsibility for the further course of international history in the American Century.

The Second World War was a necessary consequence of the First World War's termination in the peace dictates of Versailles and St. Germain. The immediate origins of the Second World War were the Allied Powers' breaking of the preliminary agreement based on Wilson's Fourteen Points; the refusal of the right of self-determination and of equality of rights for the German people; the creation of the eastern frontier and the "Polish Corridor"; the treaties' paragraphs on war guilt and war criminals, and impossible financial and economic claims.

The outbreak of the war of 1939 was caused directly by the conflict between Poland and Germany over the "Corridor" and Danzig problems. Great Britain and the USA did not grant Germany fulfillment of her rights to self-determination: unification of Austria and the Sudeten region with the German Reich in 1938 had shifted the relations between the powers on the continent in favor of Germany—an event unacceptable for England's traditional policy of a "Balance of Powers." Equally unacceptable for America was the Europeans' independent decision at the Munich conference, excluding the United States and the Soviet Union.

By means of a European war, both Roosevelt and Stalin intended to realize their dream of world rule according to totally different views and totally different aims. Thus Washington and Moscow staged a new European war, enabling both *colossi* to destroy and displace a Europe engaged in self-mutilation. The European order of the world was replaced by two “super powers,” leading to a balance of terror. Thus, America lost her position as *arbiter mundi** which she had attempted to exercise in 1919, and was forced on the defensive against an aggressive and expansionist Communism striving for exclusive world domination.

Notes

1. See also: Erwin Hölzle, *Die Selbstentmachtung Europas* (Göttingen, 1975).
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3. Georg Franz-Willing, “Der Krimkrieg, ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Schicksals,” in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7, Heft 8, August 1956, p. 448ff.
4. Georg Franz-Willing, *Der weltgeschichtliche Aufstieg der Vereinigten Staaten durch die Entscheidung des Bürgerkrieges 1861-1865* (Osnabrück, 1979).
5. Georg Franz-Willing, “Der Indische Aufstand 1857-1859,” in *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XXI, 1961, p. 29ff., 109ff.
6. Georg Franz-Willing, “Europa oder Asien. Admiral Perry's Expedition nach Japan,” in *Die Österreichische Furche*, 1953, Nr. 31 v.1.8.1953.
7. Georg Franz-Willing, *Neueste Geschichte Chinas 1840-1973* (Paderborn, 1975) passim.
8. Allan Nevins, *Henry White. Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1930) p. 257 f. Albert Wedemeyer, *Reports* (New York, 1958), p. 13f.
9. Wedemeyer, ibid.
10. Georg Franz-Willing, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und die Pläne zur Reform der Habsburger Monarchie* (Munich, 1943), passim.
11. Hans Übersberger, *Russland und Serbien*, (Munich, 1958), passim. Erwin Hölzle, *Amerika und Russland* (Göttingen, 1980), p. 103ff.
12. Hölzle, *Die Selbstentmachtung Europas*, p. 234. Dietrich Aigner, *Das Ringen um England* (Munich, 1969), p. 13ff.
13. Homer Lea, *The Day of the Saxon* (New York, 1912), p. 137.
14. V. I. Lenin, *Über Krieg, Armee und Militärwissenschaft. Eine Auswahl aus Lenins Schriften in zwei Bänden* (East Berlin, 1958), Vol. I, p. 455.
15. Hölzle, *Amerika und Russland*, p. 192 ff. Felix Frankfurter, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1960), p. 154ff., 178ff. Bernard Baruch, *The Public Years* (New York, 1960), p. 17ff., p. 49ff.
16. Baruch, *The Public Years*, p. 97ff. Baruch, *The Making of Reparations and Economic Sections of the Treaty* (New York, 1920), passim.

*“world arbiter” — Ed.

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Book Reviews

IL RAPPORTO GERSTEIN: ANATOMIA DI UN FALSO [THE GERSTEIN REPORT: THE ANATOMY OF A FRAUD], by Carlo Mattogno. Sentinella d'Italia (Via Buonarroti, 4, Monfalcone, Italy), 1985; 243 pp.

Reviewed by Robert A. Hall, Jr.

Italians have a special reason for being sensitive with regard to the allegations contained in the report made in 1945 by the SS officer Kurt Gerstein in his account of his observations at Belzec and other alleged "extermination-camps" in July, 1942. The German dramatist Rolf Hochhuth, in his "historical drama" *Der Stellvertreter* (Eng. "The Deputy"; It. "Il Vicario"; 1963), introduced Gerstein as a major character. In Act I, Hochhuth has Gerstein rush into the presence of the Papal Nuncio Count Césare Orsenigo in the latter's palace in Berlin in 1942 and tell him excitedly of the massacre of Jews which he has witnessed at Belzec. Orsenigo conveys this information to Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli). The Pope does not question its accuracy, but considers the fate of millions of Jews as secondary to the safeguarding of the Vatican's financial investments in Germany. Hochhuth has the Pope spill ink on his hands, call for a basin of water, and (with obvious symbolism) wash his hands of the whole matter.

Der Stellvertreter has been translated into many languages and performed—normally, because of its length, in abbreviated versions—in many countries. (Your reviewer saw it in Uruguay in 1966.) As so often happens with works of fiction, Hochhuth's version of history has been widely accepted outside of Italy as truthful. In Italy, on the other hand, Pius XII is considered to have been not only anti-Nazi (as far as was possible in the situation), but eager to do all he could to save as many Jews as possible. Hence the concern of many Italians over what they consider Hochhuth's unjustified slander against the posthumous reputation of Pope Pius, and over the truthfulness of the real Kurt Gerstein's depositions made in 1945. Mattogno's book is a thorough re-examination, from both a general and a specifically Italian point of view, of the authenticity of the story as presented in the actual documents attributed to Gerstein, and hence of his credibility with regard to the situation at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

Italian *falso*, in Mattogno's title, can mean either "forgery" or "fraud." In this instance, it clearly means the latter. In his Chapter I (pp. 15-31), Mattogno lists and describes the texts of the various depositions, hand-written and type-written, attributed to Gerstein. Of the two chief versions, one (numbered PS-1553) is in French and the other (no. PS-2170) is in German. Two Americans who took Gerstein's depositions swore under oath that they were actually made by him, and his widow recognized his hand-writing as authentic. Concerning their authenticity, purely as documents, therefore, Mattogno has no doubt, as he says in his brief second chapter (pp. 33-35).

Their truthfulness, however, is a totally different question. Mattogno denies (Ch. III: pp. 37-85), on the basis of a detailed study and comparison of the various texts, that they correspond to anything resembling historical truth. He lists no less than 103 internal and external contradictions, falsifications of history (as it can be determined from other sources), disagreement with official Exterminationist history, errors of fact, exaggerations, and unrealistic statements (listed on pp. 80-85). Some of these are minor discrepancies, e.g., in the measurements of rooms or the age of a child whom Gerstein saw distributing shoe-laces to prisoners. Others of these inaccuracies, however, range from major contradictions to real "whoppers," such as the assertions that 15,000 persons were killed per day at Belzec, or 20,000 at Sobibor. The biggest of all is the figure of 25 million Jews executed. (Contrast this with the official Zionist figure of 16.6 million Jews in the entire world at the beginning of the Second World War, cited by W. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* [Los Angeles, Institute for Historical Review, 1983], p. 14.)

Those who support Gerstein's claims to truthfulness cite various sources of information contained in statements dating from 1942 to 1947. Mattogno devotes six chapters to these sources, in their approximate chronological order. In the first of these (Ch. IV: pp. 87-97), he discusses the Swedish Baron von Otter, whom Gerstein claimed to have informed of the situation when they travelled together on a train returning from Poland. Although von Otter claimed in July, 1945, that he made an oral report to his superiors in Stockholm, Mattogno states that there is no surviving documentary evidence of such a report. A document in Dutch, dating from 1943, with the title in German (why?) "Tötungsanstalten in Polen" ("Killing-Establishments in Poland"), Mattogno dismisses (Ch. V: pp. 92-107) as containing too many inaccuracies and contradictions to be trustworthy.

The reports which reached the Vatican during the 1942-1945 period concerning alleged mass-executions of Jews in occupied Poland involve a rather broader spectrum of presumed support for Gerstein's allegations. To these reports, Mattogno devotes a longer chapter (VI: pp. 109-123) than to the other "supporting evidence." Of the interview which Hochhuth imagines as having taken place between Count Orsenigo and Gerstein, there is naturally no record in the Vatican archives, since Gerstein was, according to his own statement, not even allowed to enter the Nuncio's palace in 1942. (For a fuller discussion of Hochhuth's fabrications, see Paul Rassinier, *L'Opération "Vicaire"* [Paris, La Table Ronde, 1965].) Gerstein claimed to have told hundreds of persons (including a certain Dr. Hochstrasser and

Bishop Dibelius) of the atrocities he had witnessed. After 1945, these two stated that they had forwarded this information to intermediate levels of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Switzerland and Sweden, respectively. Yet, Mattogno says (pp. 110-111), there is no trace of these reports in the Vatican. In the rest of the chapter, Mattogno reviews the various stories of atrocities against Jews and East Europeans which did reach the Vatican from 1942 onwards. He emphasizes what is already fairly well known, that these stories were vague and lacking in specific information, and did not arouse intense preoccupations because of their lack of confirmation.

Gerstein claimed that a certain Wilhelm Pfannenstiel accompanied him on his visits to the various "death-camps"; but, in his short chapter on Pfannenstiel (VII: pp. 123-138), Mattogno finds that the former's statements, made between 1947 and 1970, are (like so many of the others) vague and self-contradictory. A Pole named Rudolf Reder, in 1947, published an account (in Polish) of the "death-camp" at Belzec. For several reasons, Mattogno considers, in his Chapter VIII (pp. 129-137), that Reder's story is a mere vulgar plagiarism from Gerstein's depositions, which had by then been published. Mattogno then takes up, in the final chapter of this group (IX: pp. 139-147), the depositions made by Rudolf Höss and Konrad Morgen in 1946, which have already been analysed and found untrustworthy by other Revisionist scholars.

Mattogno's next three chapters deal with the relation of Gerstein's documents to the broader historical context. What actually happened to Gerstein himself? Nobody knows, except that it is fairly certain that he died in 1945, in a French prison. In Chapter X (pp. 149-156), Mattogno discusses the mystery surrounding Gerstein's death after he was imprisoned by the French in 1945 and found hanged in his cell on July 25 of that year. The official verdict was suicide, but the details and the actual cause (possibly murder, either by fellow inmates or the French authorities) are, Mattogno tells us, open to question. Interestingly, the file on Gerstein has also disappeared from the archives (as happens all too often in such instances). "Only one fact is certain: Kurt Gerstein's corpse disappeared, as did also his file," says Mattogno (p. 156).

The existence of "gas-chambers" at Belzec and of "steam chambers" at Treblinka is a pure myth, according to Mattogno's next two chapters. His Chapter XI (pp. 157-165) is devoted to the various alleged methods of execution at Belzec, pointing out the absurdities, impossibilities, and contradictions inherent in Gerstein's and others' accounts. In some stories, we are told of electrocutions by means of metal floors on which victims were forced to stand in large numbers, all squashed together, with electric currents being passed through the mass of naked bodies. (What about the grounding of the current, or the very high tension required to overcome the electrical resistance of such a mass?) Other accounts involve such methods of execution as metal floors which were made (how?) to sink into water through which an electric current was passed (!), or freight-trains on the floors of whose cars quick-lime was spread so as to torture and kill the victims crowded in them and dissolve the corpses (!). Mattogno's twelfth chapter (pp. 167-173) deals with the 1942 report issued by the Polish government-in-exile in London, according to which the victims at Treblinka were executed in "steam-chambers"—a most inefficient procedure, which was later changed, in official Exterminationist history, to gas-chambers, through clumsy adaptations of Gerstein's assertions.

In his two final chapters, Mattogno examines the treatment of the Gerstein material by later historians. His Chapter XIII (pp. 175-185) is a discussion of Revisionists' presentation of the matter. In examining the work of such scholars as Rassinier, Aretz, Butz, Walendy, Faurisson, and others, Mattogno engages in some "cross-bench" criticism, pointing out various errors (mostly minor) in their work, but is, on the whole, favorable to them. In the course of this chapter, he refutes Georges Wellers's criticisms of Rassinier, and the assertions of the Italian Exterminationist Luciano Sterpellone.

Mattogno reserves his strongest denunciations, however, for the French Exterminationist Léon Poliakov, in the second longest chapter of the book (XIV: pp. 187-227). First Mattogno reproduces (pp. 187-207) Gerstein's own texts (in German, French, and English) with an Italian translation for each. Then he prints (pp. 187-207) the versions of each which Poliakov gives in successive editions of his *Bréviaire de la haine* (1951; revised 1974). Mattogno indicates, by means of bold-face type and numbered end-notes, all the places (398 in all) in which Poliakov altered the original, by additions, omissions, substitutions, or insertions. From this discussion, Poliakov emerges as an untrustworthy, unscrupulous deceptionist.

Mattogno needs only one page (231) for his "Conclusion," in which he points out that Gerstein's "eye-witness" account is only a mass of absurdities, contradictions, and errors of all kinds, unsupported by trustworthy confirmation, whose falsity even Poliakov implicitly recognized by manipulating the material so as to make it seem credible. It is well known that Gerstein must have been mentally unbalanced, in his attempts at reconciling his alleged faith in Christian principles with his equally strongly asserted devotion to the National Socialist cause. If Gerstein's depositions are genuine (which Mattogno considers they are), the origin of his assertions is to be sought in his "schizoid personality" (a phrase which Mattogno quotes from the Exterminationist Saul Friedländer).

The book is well organized and Mattogno's discussion is clear, concise, and to the point, with relatively little emotionalism. The translations from French, German, English, and Dutch into Italian are all faithful to their originals. (Your reviewer knows no Polish and hence cannot judge the translations from that language.) Unfortunately, there are a number of misprints, not only in foreign languages, but also in the ordinary Italian prose.

In the light of Mattogno's extensive discussion, Gerstein's "eyewitness" accounts, and further argumentation based thereon, appear very untrustworthy indeed. One does not have to be a fanatical supporter of Nazism or Fascism (your reviewer, when a student in Italy in the 1930's, was strongly anti-Fascist, and still is) to recognize the extent to which, all unsuspecting, we have been tricked into believing Gerstein's assertions, especially through the deceit practised on us by Rolf Hochhuth in *Der Stellvertreter.*

ROOM 40: BRITISH NAVAL INTELLIGENCE, 1914-1918 by Patrick Beesly. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982, U.S. edition 1983, xiii + 338pp with maps, photographs, index, $15.95, ISBN 0-15-178634-8.

Reviewed by Arthur S. Ward

In this book, Patrick Beesly, a veteran of the Naval Intelligence Division of the British Admiralty, tells the story of Room 40—the office of British Naval Intelligence during World War I. Drawing upon hitherto unpublished material, he sheds new light on such events as the abortive Dardanelles campaign, the Battle of Jutland, the Irish Easter Rising of 1916, the Zimmerman Telegram affair, and the defeat of the German U-boats. The American edition includes an important revision from the first edition published in the UK: Beesly amended his views of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, concluding that a conspiracy lay behind the tragedy.

Before the end of 1914, the British captured all the German naval codes. At the head of British Naval Intelligence was the legendary Admiral "Blinker" Hall, described by U.S. Ambassador Walter Hines Page as the "one genius that the war has developed . . . all other secret-service men are amateurs by comparison." After the war broke out in August 1914, an extraordinary band of amateurs was assembled—clergymen, stockbrokers, bankers, naval-school masters, university professors—who managed to read the early German naval codes and their replacements over the course of the war.

While the German Navy was smaller than the Royal Navy, the *Hochseeflotte* had the advantage of being able to choose its moment for a sudden raid and could have inflicted some sharp defeats on isolated British forces if plans had worked out as intended. Thanks to the work of Room 40, however, the Germans were never able to achieve the element of surprise, upon which their naval strategy depended. Indeed, after Admiral Scheer launched an ineffective sortie east of the Dogger Bank on October 18, 1916 (during which operation one of his cruisers was torpedoed), the High Seas Fleet did not attempt to put to sea again until April 1918.

Many readers will find Chapter Seven, "Lusitania: Foul-up or Conspiracy?" of particular interest. Beesly was able to consult a number of files relating to the sinking of the famous Cunard Line passenger steamer released to the Public Record Office after 1976. Yet the British government continues to withhold pertinent records from the public view. As the author points out, "The very unsatisfactory nature of the official enquiry held in June 1915 and the refusal then, and for the next sixty-six years, of the British authorities to disclose all the information in their possession, has only succeeded in fueling suspicions . . . German and American records are also remarkable for the absence of certain papers which once existed but which can no longer, apparently, be produced."

From what Beesly has been able to discover, Room 40 was aware that a German submarine was in the area through which the *Lusitania* was to sail on the last leg of her journey from New York. She was carrying a supply of munitions, "in common with other fast Cunard liners . . . ordered principally from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation." The munitions were stowed on the lower orlop deck below the bridge and just forward of the foremost bulkhead of the four boiler rooms. This was the exact point where U-20's single torpedo struck and where a terrific second explosion tore apart the ship, with such appalling loss of life. The *Lusitania* carried a cargo of dangerous munitions, contraband according to the rules of war then in effect. Even after the sinking of the *Lusitania,* the British continued to ship ammunition aboard passenger liners.

What concerns the author is that the British, knowing a U-boat was prowling in the area where the *Lusitania* was sailing, failed to divert the ship to another, safer route, or failed to provide a destroyer escort for the passenger liner, as they could have easily done: "Nothing, *absolutely nothing* was done to ensure the liner's safe arrival," Beesly notes. On the basis of the evidence available to him by the early 1980s, Beesly was "reluctantly driven to the conclusion that there *was* a conspiracy deliberately to put the *Lusitania* at risk in the hopes that even an abortive attack on her would bring the United States into the war. Such a conspiracy could not have been put into effect without Winston Churchill's [at the time Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty — ed.] express permission and approval." Beesly's research thus supports the conclusions reached by Colin Simpson in his earlier revisionist work on the topic, *The Lusitania.*

Room 40's decripts enabled the Royal Navy to intercept the German blockade runner, *Libau* (disguised as the Norwegian vessel *Aud*), on April 20, 1916, at Tralee Bay on the west coast of Ireland. *Libau* carried rifles, machine guns, ammunition, and explosives intended for the Sinn Feiners. Had the Irish received the weapons, the success of the Easter Rising would still have been in doubt, but the fighting could have been more serious than, in the event, it was.

The author explains the role that Room 40 had in the defeat of the U-boats. With the establishment of the convoy system, it was possible to alert ships to the presence of U-boats, and either reroute them or send destroyers out to ward off enemy submarines. As Beesly remarks, "neither in World War I nor in World War II did British intelligence win the U-boat war, but in both cases it certainly shortened it."

Room 40 is a well written narrative, containing information of interest to Revisionists. Still available in hardcover in bookstores, readers' may be able to find copies on sale tables, as this reviewer did recently.

SPECIAL TREATMENT: THE UNTOLD STORY OF HITLER'S THIRD RACE by Alan Abrams. Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1985, 261pp, ISBN 0-8184-0364-0.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This book may have the most ironic title of any work dealing with the Jews of Europe in the 1930's and 40's. Its author, Alan Abrams, is a convinced Exterminationist, but the "special treatment" he describes was that accorded the children of marriages between Jews and Gentiles—the *Mischlinge*—and their Jewish parents. As Abrams relates, the *Mischlinge* and their Jewish parents were rarely deported to the East from the Reich and the areas under German occupation or influence, nor were they subjected to personal harassment or economic discrimination. At the war's end there were at least 28,000 registered Jews living openly throughout the Reich, and tens of thousands more across Europe, in addition to hundreds of thousands of half- and quarter-Jews (in the "racial" sense), many of whom had been eligible for service in the Wehrmacht and even certain National Socialist organizations.

Abrams, though no "Holocaust" Revisionist, is well aware of his book's potential for embarrassing the orthodox. Indeed, *Special Treatment* is prefaced by the adage of Prussian historian Heinrich Leo, "Better to cause a scandal than to be less than truthful," as well as by George Sokolsky's evocation of the traditional Jewish wariness of *Shande fur die Goyim* (giving scandal to the Gentiles).

While Abrams has somewhat exaggerated the neglect of the *Mischlinge* and their Jewish parents (as he well knows, Gerald Reitlinger, Raoul Hilberg, and Nora Levin have all grudgingly acknowledged the special status of the *Mischlinge* in their accounts of the "Holocaust"), for the most part he is quite justified in the stress he lays on their relegation to obscurity, particularly in more popular works dealing with the wartime lot of the Jews. Leonard Gross, for example, in *The Last Jews of Berlin*, which deals with Jews who spent the war in hiding or under false identities, writes that "nothing could be more miraculous than the survival of a Jew in Berlin during the last years of World War II." He says nothing of the many Jews in mixed marriages who dwelt there openly, in complete legality, to the end of the war.

Special Treatment has its flaws, of course. Abrams is no scholar, and his book is stronger on anecdote than analysis. The author tends to wander afield, as when he deals with alleged Jewish "collaboration" in France or with Jewish organizational activity in Germany, a subject dealt with far more effectively by Lenni Brenner in his *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*. Abrams's belief that the National Socialist leadership attempted to exterminate the Jews of Europe leads him to imply strongly that the drafting of the Nuremberg Laws, which established the special status of the *Mischlinge*, enabled the survival of European Jewry. In this strange notion, as well as in such formulations as "the Nazi exemptions for Jews crossed European frontiers with the first wave of goose-stepping shock troops," he will find little company from either Exterminationists or Revisionists.

The implications for the Exterminationist thesis of the decision to create a special legal status for the *Mischlinge* and to treat their Jewish parents as privileged are worth considering, but naturally Abrams doesn't focus on them. Raoul Hilberg, in the first edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews* (pp. 268-277), claims that these policies were necessary to camouflage the extermination: Had the Jews in mixed marriages been deported, their Aryan spouses would not only have raised a public furor, but would have created further grave problems for law and public morale by flocking to obtain death certificates, thereby fatally compromising the secrecy of the "Final Solution." The reader may make of this explanation what he will, particularly in light of the insistence of Hilberg and other Exterminationists that the machinery of the "Final Solution" was initially revved up by killing tens of thousands of *Germans* in a state-mandated euthanasia program.

Of further interest in the German policy toward this special category of Jews and part-Jews is the implicit contradiction it provides to the common assertion that the alleged slaughter of the European Jews by the National Socialists was rooted in a sort of psychosexual pathology, shared by Hitler and his followers, triggered by the idea of sexual relations between Jews and Aryans. Even those with a casual acquaintance with "Holocaust" literature are aware of photographs, dating from the early days of Hitler's rise of power, showing Aryan-Jewish couples being hazed by members of the *Sturmabteilung* and other rowdies. How odd that, if sexual envy were the driving force of the "Holocaust," precisely those Jews married to Aryans, the progenitors of "mongrel" offspring, should be exempt from the treatment meted out to the rest of their brethren!

All Denials of Free Speech Undercut A Democratic Society

NOAM CHOMSKY

The following essay first appeared in the Camera, *Boulder, Colorado, in September, 1985. It is a rejoinder to a reply by Henry Smokler to a nationally syndicated article by* Village Voice *writer Nat Hentoff protesting the cancellation of a Cornell Medical School commencement speech by Professor Chomsky. The cancellation was the work of Zionists fearful that Chomsky, a forthright critic of Israel, would mar their happy occasion.*

Chomsky has been the target of increasingly vicious invective from Zionist and Left-"Liberal" quarters for his principled stand on behalf of free speech for Revisionists. Chomsky is in fact a confirmed Exterminationist who subscribes to the orthodox history of the "Holocaust." The difference is that the renowned professor of linguistics from M.I.T. really is *a civil libertarian, upholding the Enlightenment Rights of Man not merely so that his own Leftist views will be given a hearing, but from a commitment to an ideal which, far from being a selectively-applied tool of ideological opportunism, is a minimum prerequisite for a humane society and discourse.*

Prof. Chomsky's essay gives important testimony about repression of Revisionists which the vast majority of Leftist intellectuals choose to ignore or even suppress. It deserves an audience far greater than that reached by the Boulder Camera. *It also constitutes a tribute to both Chomsky and Faurisson—men who typify that endangered species of thinkers who actually practice what they preach.*

In Faurisson's case, it is the practice of untrammeled intellectual curiosity and historical inquiry. In Chomsky's, it is the protection of the right to dissent, even when such dissent entails a radical questioning of the fundamental tenets of the most sacred dogma of the era.

—Michael A. Hoffman II

In the *Daily Camera* (Aug. 25), Professor Howard Smokler, responding to a column by Nat Hentoff (June 30), writes that I have "hurt and offended" him by two actions concerning Robert Faurisson, who in 1980 published a book entitled *Memoir in Defense Against Those Who Accuse Me of Falsifying History* in which, according to Smokler, "he charged that 'the myth of the gas chambers' originated in certain American Zionist circles around 1942 . . . " The two actions are: 1) that I "defended Faurisson's right to publish these falsehoods," and 2) that "in a letter to the historian Lucy Dawidowicz, (I) expressed complete agnosticism on the subject of whether Faurisson's views were 'horrendous.'"

I will return to the first point. As for the second, it is not clear on what grounds Professor Smokler might be hurt or offended by a personal letter, which I presume he has never seen, written to a third party, but the question is academic, since he has grossly misinterpreted its contents.

The relevant facts are as follows. Faurisson was a professor of French literature at the University of Lyon. After he published some items in which he denied the existence of gas chambers, he was suspended from teaching on the grounds that the university could not protect him from violence. He was then brought to trial for "falsification of history," and condemned—the first time in the West, to my knowledge, that the courts have affirmed the familiar Stalinist-fascist doctrine that the State has the right to determine historical truth and to punish deviation from it. I was one of 500 foreign signers of a petition urging that Faurisson's civil rights be respected. Shortly after, in a letter of Sept. 10, 1980, Ms. Dawidowicz wrote me asking whether I "had signed a statement defending Robert Faurisson's right to speak his views," and if so, "what reason compelled me to sign it." On Sept. 18, I wrote her that I had indeed signed a statement defending Faurisson's right to speak his views. As for my reasons, I wrote that "I signed the appeal because I believe that people have the right of freedom and expression whatever their views, that the importance of defending these rights is all the greater when the person expresses views that are abhorrent to virtually everyone (as in this case), and that this becomes particularly important when the person in question is thrown out of his academic position," and subjected to other ill-treatment. I did not know then about the "falsification of history" trial, and had never heard of Faurisson's book, which appeared three months later; this book, as the title indicates, was a defense against the scandalous charges for which he was later sentenced, dealing specifically with the charge that he had falsified the diaries of Nazi doctor Johann Paul Kremer.*

I also wrote to Ms. Dawidowicz that I was shocked by her query as to why one should defend freedom of speech. I remain shocked today. I might add that no question has ever been raised on the innumerable occasions when I have signed similar petitions for people with all sorts of views, often views of which I know nothing or which I know to be horrendous, or when I have taken far stronger and more controversial stands in support of civil liberties, for example, when I supported the right of American war criminals not only to speak and teach but also to conduct their research, on grounds of academic freedom, at a time when their work was being used to murder and destroy (no one accuses Faurisson of being a war criminal or claims that his work is contributing to massive ongoing crimes). I might note that the utter hypocrisy of Smokler, Dawidowicz and their circles more generally is very clearly demonstrated by the fact that they are "hurt and offended" by my defense of the right of free expression in the Faurisson case, but not by far more controversial and extreme actions of mine in defense of the same rights for people they find more congenial.

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*Faurisson was not convicted of falsifying history; the Paris Court of Appeals upheld a guilty verdict based on "personal damages" likely to arise from "passionately aggressive actions against all those . . . implicitly accused of lying and deception" by the results of Faurisson's research. (Ed. note)

I went on to inform Ms. Dawidowicz that I knew very little about Faurisson's work, so that while it may be "horrendous," as claimed by his critics, I obviously could not comment. This is what Smokler reports as an expression of "complete agnosticism." Apparently, he is willing to pass judgment on matters of which he knows nothing, but I am not, and the fact that a person is universally denounced does not suffice for me to join in the parade without at least looking at what he has to say, which I had not done in this case and had no particular interest in doing: I am willing to wager that Smokler has never read a word by Faurisson, nor is there any reason why he should. Furthermore, as I wrote to Ms. Dawidowicz, the nature of his views is, plainly, completely irrelevant to the issue of his right to express them, a truism among civil libertarians that those of a Stalinist-fascist persuasion find quite shocking.

I have discussed Smokler's second charge, based on his distortion of the personal letter to Dawidowicz to which he alludes. Let us consider the first charge. Here he is correct. I do defend the right of Faurisson to publish falsehoods, as I defend the right of anyone else to do so, including Professor Smokler. As I wrote to Ms. Dawidowicz in the letter that Smokler misrepresents, "I thought that all of this had been settled in the 18th century, but apparently others do not agree," including Professor Smokler. He states that my support for familiar Enlightenment principles and my rejection of the Stalinist-fascist doctrine that he advocates hurts and offends him. I am afraid I have no apologies to offer about that.

Smokler goes on to deny at length a claim that was never made, either by me or by Nat Hentoff: namely, that my "political rights," including the right of freedom of speech, were denied in the three incidents mentioned by Hentoff: namely, 1) a request by students at Cornell Medical School that I withdraw as commencement speaker (as I did) because my views on Zionism so offended them that the occasion would be spoiled for them no matter what I spoke on; 2) the withdrawal of an invitation by the Middle East Center at the University of Michigan after pressure by faculty members who demanded that I not be permitted to speak on the Middle East at the Cleveland City Club, evidently under some form of pressure. Smokler is quite right to say that there is no issue of freedom of speech in these cases, nor has anyone so alleged.

The issue, as Hentoff clearly stated, is an entirely different one. It is as stated in my letter to the Cornell Medical students, which Hentoff quoted: "As you may know, Israeli doves have bitterly deplored the chauvinist fanaticism among sectors of the American Jewish community that they consider — rightly in my view — to be driving their country to disaster." I have taken many highly controversial positions on many matters, but incidents of the kind Hentoff describes have never occurred except on this issue, and then only in the United States; my only comparable experience is in the Soviet sphere, where not a word of mine on any political topic is allowed expression. Many others have had the same experience, including prominent Israelis: for example, (General) Mattityahu Peled, who bitterly denounced the American Jewish community, after a visit here when he was subjected to the kind of abuse familiar among those who do not toe the Party Line with sufficient precision, for their "state of near hysteria" and their "blindly chauvinistic and narrow-minded" support for the most reactionary policies within Israel, which poses "the danger of prodding Israel once more toward a posture of calloused intransigence." Other well-known Israeli doves have condemned what they correctly describe as the "Stalinist" practices in these circles. The issue is a serious one, but it is not one of freedom of speech in the technical sense that Smokler irrelevantly debates with no opponent.

Smokler states that it is my responsibility to "make publicly available the evidence which leads (me) to assert that (I am) systematically excluded from the expression of (my) ideas." The assertion is his, not mine, but apart from that, I do not accept such responsibility. The ridiculous antics of Smokler's friends and associates are not my concern. If Nat Hentoff or others ask me for information about these matters, I will provide it, but I recognize no duty beyond that. The Michigan affair was discussed extensively in the University and Ann Arbor press, and by Michigan historian Alan Wald in several articles. It was regarded as scandalous quite rightly, but I have never mentioned it except in response to queries. The same is true of the other two incidents, and of many others.

Suppression of critical comment on Israel of a sort that is easily expressed in Israel itself is readily demonstrable. To mention only one case, my book *Fateful Triangle* (1983) was reviewed in major (and minor) newspapers and news weeklies in Canada, Britain, Australia (even on national TV), and in exactly two local newspapers in the United States (and in the *New York Review of Books*, after a long review had appeared in its sister journal in London, which is widely read here), though its contents are far more relevant to U.S. concerns. This is quite typical, for others as well. While I am asked to write regularly on the Middle East in major journals in Israel, Europe and elsewhere, that is virtually inconceivable here. My experience is not all that unusual in this regard. It should be noted that the U.S. is a highly ideological society in which dissenting opinion is effectively marginalized as compared with other industrial democracies, but nevertheless, the case of the Middle East is unique. As has been observed in press commentary in Israel — a more democratic society than ours, at least for its Jewish majority — this is a serious danger for American democracy, for the Middle East, and indeed for world peace.

Again let me stress that no one is raising an issue of the "political rights" of critics of Israeli policies. To take another case, my "political rights" are not violated when the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith keeps a 150-page file on my activities, including surveillance of my talks and grossly falsified accounts of these talks and other matters, which the League then circulates to people with whom I am to have debates (e.g., Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz) or to groups in universities where I am to speak so that they can extract defamatory and slanderous lies from this material. The issues, rather, are quite different. I have agreed to provide these files (leaked to me from the ADL office) to the people who find the Stalinist-style mentality and behavior of the ADL scandalous, and who question whether a tax-exempt organization should devote itself to surveillance and defamation of critics of the state it serves, but I accept no further responsibility to concern myself with the matter, contrary to Smokler's absurd claim, any more than I waste time over the behavior of Communist Party hacks. For those who may be interested in the disreputable and dangerous activities of these groups, there is ample evidence in Paul Findley's recent book, *They Dare to Speak Out*, Naseer Aruri's "The Middle East on the U.S. Campus," (*Link*, published by Americans for Middle East Understanding), and other works.

Smokler also presents his private version of my views, claiming that I have given no evidence for them and that an unnamed Africanist interprets the facts differently. No comment appears necessary. Those who may be interested in what my views actually are and whether I have given evidence for them can easily consult available literature, for example, *Fateful Triangle*. To my knowledge, only one competent Zionist historian has reviewed this book, Dr. Noah Lucas, in the *Jewish Quarterly*, London, Nos. 3-4, 1984. I will simply quote his concluding words: "Good luck to the reader who may succeed in refuting any of the facts or assumptions or conclusions presented by Chomsky. It will not be accomplished by anyone who approaches the matter as an issue of propaganda or public relations for Israel, but only by the student who matches research with research." Not by Professor Smokler, plainly.

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